





KING GEORGE V: EMPEROR OF INDIA.

Photo. W. and D. Downey, London.

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA

BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
AND MAPS

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PREFACE.

This book written by Mr. P. A. Wadia will, I feel sure, be specially welcomed by those who, like myself, think that a history of India is needed, which connecting all its scattered elements into something of a unity of thought and purpose and emphasizing the influence which religion, literature, philosophy and art have exercised as much as if not more than ruling dynasties, wars, and statecraft, can present to the student an impressive picture of the past with lessons for guidance for the future.

This book does not aspire to be more than a history of India for the use of students at school. Keeping that in view Mr. Wadia has described the events in simple language and introduced into the book an account in brief of those religious and social phases of thought and movement, which from ancient times till now have made the people of India what they have been and are, even more than the vicissitudes of political

events and government. The book is readable and ought, in my humble opinion, to prove helpful and inspiring to young students, to whom I beg to commend it.

N. G. CHANDAVARKAR

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A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND.

The Extent and Boundaries of India.—India is separated from the rest of Asia by a barrier of mountains. Outside this barrier are Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Turkistan, Tibet and Burma. On one side only does the barrier offer an entrance into India—towards the north-west; hence strangers have invaded the country either by crossing the seas or through these passes from the north-west. In all other directions it is the sea that surrounds the country. Thus in the early days when no power attempted to assert command over the seas, the country was practically inaccessible, except from the north. The early history of India is a history of wave after wave of invasion from across the northern barrier of mountains; and even before the dawn of history tribes of Turanian descent from the north must have passed into the land and settled in Eastern Bengal and Assam. When the command of the sea was first acquired by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and subsequently by other European powers, the physical isolation of India was destroyed; and to-day India is bound by closer ties of connection with Great Britain than with any of her immediate neighbours across the mountains.

In extent India is about as large as Europe without Russia. It is about fifteen times as large as Great Britain. Its breadth towards the north is 1900 miles.

Hindustan.—The word Hindustan, which means the home of the Hindus, is applied sometimes to the whole of India, sometimes to that part of India which is bounded on the south by the river Narbudda. In this latter sense the country may be broadly divided into three distinct parts. The first part is constituted by the Himalayan region, and includes Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhuttan. The second is the great plain between the Himalayas and the Vindhya Mountains. This vast plain is watered by three systems of rivers.

(i) From north to south, parallel to the Suleiman range, flows the great river Indus, joined by the united waters of five great streams. The land through which these rivers flow is the land of the five rivers—the Punjab. Below the junction of these rivers is Sindh. East of Sindh is a great expanse of territory, having but little water and in part sheer desert, known as Rajputana or Rajasthan.

(ii) To the east of the Sutlej, the most easterly of the five rivers, are the Ganges and the Jumna which take their rise in the Himalayas and water portions of Rajputana, Central India, the United Provinces and Bengal.

(iii) The Chambal and the Sone emerge from the Vindhya Mountains and constitute the last of the three systems of rivers. The Narbudda is the southern boundary of the great plain which has been known in history as Hindustan.

The Deccan.—The whole of the country south of the Narbudda from the Vindhya mountains to Cape Comorin, which constitutes the last great division of the peninsula, is known as the Deccan. In a somewhat narrower sense the Deccan includes the Central Provinces, Berar, the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, Mysore, and the

protected states of the Nizam, Sindhia and Holkar. From the western and eastern extremities of the Vindhya rise two ranges of mountains known as the Western and Eastern Ghats, which run in a southerly direction parallel to the sea. The margin between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats is very narrow, and the Ghats cut off this tract from the rest of the peninsula, with the result that the people who live in this tract are backward when compared with the inhabitants of other parts. On the other hand a broad strip of low land lies between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal, watered by the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri. In consequence the Carnatic, the Northern Circars and Orissa have been open to contact with other peoples and to civilising influences and were the seats of the ancient dynasties of Southern India rulers. The rugged mountains of the Western Ghats produced a race of warlike habits like the Marathas.

Geographical Features and Climate.—It might have been expected that India with a sea coast of about 3400 miles would be a great maritime country. But this is not the case. The people of India have never been sailors. This is because the coast-line of India is one long line, straight and unbroken. There are few natural harbours either on the eastern or western coast with the exception of Bombay. There are no bays, nor gulfs, indenting the coast-line and bringing the waters of the sea into the interior of the land and even the mouths of the great rivers are barred by sand. Thus when the European nations anchored off their shores and settled in their country, India was quite unprepared to oppose them, and conquest by these nations was inevitable in the event of a struggle.

The great plains of Hindustan extend for hundreds of miles from the Arabian Sea on the west to the Bay of

Bengal. They have been densely inhabited. The people who lived in these warm and fertile parts of the country found life easy and pleasant ; they became rich, learned and civilised. They cogitated on the mysteries of life, and evolved systems of philosophy. The mountain tracts which abound in the north as well as the south produced fighting races like the Pathans, the Gurkhas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs and the Marathas. As the invaders from the north drove the early inhabitants further south, we might expect the people of the south to retain in our days some traces of their descent and racial character. We find these traces in the languages of the Deccan — Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, all pre-Aryan languages, or languages spoken before the coming of the Aryan invaders.

In respect of climate every variation of temperature prevails in the country, from the eternal snows of the Himalayas to the extreme heat of the plains. In the Deccan the temperature is more equable. From the end of May to September south-westerly winds blow bringing with them the rains. The productiveness of the country depends largely on the rains, and their failure means famine. There are some districts, however, where artificial irrigation lessens the evil effects of a failure of the rains. In October winds blow from the north-east giving the south-eastern coasts their rainfall.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE.

The Dravidians.—It is not known who the earliest inhabitants of India were. The Dravidians were long supposed to be so ; but it is now believed that they too came from other lands, and that there were people belonging to an earlier race, with dark skin and flat noses, hunting wild animals with stone weapons. The Bhils and Santhals are said to be the descendants and survivors of these early inhabitants. The Dravidians were not so wild ; they were the inhabitants of plains and valleys, living on the breeding of cattle and by the cultivation of land. They lived in settled communities under fixed laws and government. Some scholars suppose that they came to India from the north-west, that they lived for a long time in Northern India and fought their way later into Southern India ; others suppose that they came from the South, at a remote time when there existed possibly some land connection with Australia. Even to-day in Southern India by far the larger portion of the population are the descendants of those Dravidians who, though they have adopted the manners and to some extent the religion of their Aryan conquerors, have still preserved their ancient languages, their customs and their religious beliefs.

The Mongoloids.—The word Mongoloid means "like the Mongols." It is the name given to all those tribes who wandered into north-eastern India down the valley of the Brahmaputra. They were short in stature, yellowish brown, with broad heads and flat noses, like the natives of China and Mongolia. And even to-day we find that the peoples who

inhabit the country all along the foot of the Himalayas and at the head of the Bay of Bengal are akin to the peoples of China.

The Aryans.—Long before the days of history there lived in Central Asia, or in Southern Russia according to some scholars, a number of tribes who called themselves Aryans, tall and fair, with oval faces, high foreheads and long noses. They lived in villages and tilled the ground ; but their wealth consisted mainly in their cattle. They used weapons of stone and copper, and dwelt in huts. The sky, the sun, the moon, the dawn, fire, wind and thunder seemed to them gods. They looked up to them, and sought their favour by various acts.

The Aryans were divided into two branches, the European branch, from which the Celts, the Romans, the Greeks, the Teutons, etc., were descended ; and the Asiatic branch, represented by the Iranians or Persians and the Hindus or Indo-Aryans. Long before 1000 B. c. these Aryan tribes were entering India by the passes of the north-west. It is probable that there was not one, but several waves of invasion. One Aryan tribe after another descended into the plains of the Punjab, pushing those who had gone before them further ahead, or passing through them to the country beyond to find fresh pasture. Even to-day the purest representatives of these Aryan tribes are to be found mainly in the Punjab, Kashmir, and Rajputana.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY INDIA.

The Coming of the Aryans.—The history of India begins with the coming of the Aryans. They seem to have descended through the passes of the Hindu Kush into the valley of Afghanistan and the broad plains of the Punjab. They remained in these regions for several centuries ; but it must not be supposed that they occupied these regions without trouble. On the contrary fierce fights took place with the people who already occupied the country. The Aryan people gave their language to the people whom they conquered, and these latter were soon taken up into the Aryan community of which they formed the lowest class (Sudras). Just in the same manner in another part of the world, the Greek tribes who settled in Greece and in the islands of the Aegean sea gave their language to the people, and reduced the conquered to the condition of slaves.

Civilisation of the Early Aryans.—At the time of their coming into the Punjab the Aryans were divided into tribes or clans. Castes did not exist ; even the great composers of hymns, the Rishis, were men of the world who freely mixed and married with the people, and fought and died for them. There was a broad division into classes. There were priests who performed sacrifices ; there were the chieftains who fought, and there was the mass of the people who lived on agriculture or on the breeding of cattle. Their principal wealth was in their cows. Milk and butter with grain formed their usual food, but animal food was also

indulged in ; bulls were sacrificed and eaten, and even the flesh of the horse was relished. Some of the arts of civilised life were known to them — carpentry, weaving, metal work. The rules of social life were simple : the father of the family was its head, his sons and grandsons with their wives lived under the same roof, and owned their lands in common.

Social and Domestic Life of the Early Aryans.—

These Aryan settlers in the Punjab led an extremely simple life. The head of each family was also the priest, offering sacrifices to the gods. Each family had its own gods who protected the family, and kept it together as one family. There is no mention of idols in those early days ; there were no temples or places where the people could meet together for worship. Women like men composed hymns and performed sacrifices. There was no marked inferiority in the position of women. They were not secluded ; they were, it appears, allowed to move about freely, taking their share in life, and exercising their proper influence in and outside the household. One of the hymns of the Rig Veda gives us a description of the early marriage ceremony ; it indicates that the custom of child-marriage was not known in those days, and that girls were usually married after they had reached their youth. We quote a few lines from this hymn.

“ O Visvvasu (god of marriage) ! arise from this place. We worship thee, bending in adoration. Go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed ; make her a wife and unite her to a husband.

“ Let children be born unto thee, and blessings attend thee here. Perform the duties of thy household with care. Unite thy person with the person of this thy husband ; exercise thy authority in this thy house until old age.

“ O bridegroom and bride ! do ye remain here together, do not be separated. Enjoy food of various kinds ; remain

in your own home and enjoy happiness in the company of your children and grandchildren."

Literature of the Early Aryans. The Vedas.—The Vedas form the oldest literature of the Aryan people. In their final form they consist of four collections. The most important of these is the Rig Veda which describes the customs, the manners, and the religion of the Hindu Aryans before they mixed with other races. It is a collection of over a thousand hymns addressed to various gods and arranged in ten books. Some of these books were attributed to sages or *rishis* from whom the Brahmins claim to trace their descent.

The Vedic Religion.—The religious beliefs of these Hindu Aryans, as they find expression in the Vedas, may be said to centre in the different nature forces which must have largely dominated their lives. The sky was the principal object of worship; Varuna, the god of the sky, was the highest and the holiest of the gods.—"O, Varuna! the birds that fly have not attained thy power or thy vigour; the water which flows ceaselessly and the moving wind do not surpass thy speed. King Varuna of unsullied power remains in the firmament and holds on high the rays of light." And the hymns sometimes express the prayer for forgiveness: "O, Varuna! deliver us from the sins committed in our persons."

Surya, the Sun-god, was also worshipped. Under the name of Pushan the sun was looked on as their guide and protector by this race of agriculturists.

"O Pushan! help us to finish our journey, and remove all dangers. O son of the cloud! do thou march before us."

Vishnu, which in later days was to become the name of the supreme preserver of all things, was a name of the sun in the Vedic Age. Fire was likewise an object of worship under the name of Agni; no sacrifice could be

performed without fire. His abode was in Heaven. Vayu, the god of the wind, Rudra, the god of Thunder, Soma, the god that presides over the plant of that name, Sarasvati, the river goddess, Prajapati, the Lord of creatures, may be mentioned amongst the host of gods and goddesses that figure in the religious beliefs of this early people. From the worship of these gods and goddesses there gradually arose the only worship of the one God, the one true God whose powers and peculiarities were expressed by these smaller deities.—“He who has given us life, He who is the Creator, He who knows all the places in this universe; He is one, although He bears the names of many gods.” We see here the seeds of that purer religion which were to bear fruit in the age of the Upanishads.

Spread of the Aryans over North India.—From the Punjab the Aryan Hindus began to pour down along the course of the Ganges. They spread over Oudh, Bihar, Rohilkhand and even as far as the districts bordering on the Bay of Bengal. In the Rig Veda the home of the Hindus is the Punjab. In the literature of the next epoch the shores of the Ganges are the seat of civilised Hindu kingdoms, and the Punjab is thrown into the shade. This advance of the Hindus was not simply due to an increase in their numbers, or to their desire to conquer and civilise. Possibly after the first Aryans had settled in the Punjab there was a second invasion of Aryan tribes who might have pushed the earlier tribes outwards in all directions. Prominent among the races who settled in the basin of the Ganges were the Kurus, to the east of modern Delhi, and their rivals the Panchalas who settled lower down the river near the site of modern Kanauj. They lived in peace for a long time. Their kings held brilliant courts, and gathered together the learned and the wise from all places, who held discussions on religious and philosophical subjects. It was an age of enlightenment when the Aryan Hindus were anxious

to give their children the best culture of the times, and when people cultivated the arts of peace in towns and villages. Lower still down the Ganges lived the Kasis, near modern Benares, and beyond them the Videhas. These and other tribes had their mutual jealousies and wars, but they were bound together by a common language and literature, by common customs, by a common religion. Of the history of these Hindu kingdoms in the Gangetic plains we know nothing, except their names and the fact that they were formed partly by conquest, partly by peaceful settlement. Legends and stories, however, regarding these early kingdoms have survived to our days in the form of the two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, composed in days when the memory of the kingdoms was still fresh in the minds of men.

The Story of the Ramayana.—Dasaratha, the King of the Kosalas, was the chief of the Hindu tribe of that name which had settled in the Gangetic plain. He had three queens honoured above the rest. Of these the first bore him his eldest son Rama. He was educated by Vasishta, the Brahmin, and taught the sciences as well as the use of arms. He was married to Sita, the daughter of the Raja of Mithila, a territory situated between Oudh and Bengal. Dasaratha in his old age had decided on making Rama, the *yuviraja* or reigning prince ; but he was dissuaded from this purpose by another of his queens, the mother of Bharata. Orders were passed that Rama was to go into exile ; and he was accompanied by the gentle Sita and his faithful half-brother Lakshmana. In the meantime the old King Dasaratha died of grief for his banished son. Bharata, after having brought the funeral ceremonies over his father's body to a close, went to Rama and implored him to take up the Raj, but Rama refused to violate

the promise he had given to his father to remain in banishment for fourteen years. For fourteen years the banished prince wandered with his faithful wife and his devoted brother in the wild regions of Southern India, inhabited by non-Aryan peoples who are supposed to be introduced in the poems as monkeys and bears, and as the monsters of Lanka (Ceylon). Ravana, the monster king of Lanka, hearing of the beauty of Sita, carried her off to his island. Rama, after long searchings and wanderings, got a clue of her. He formed an alliance with Hanuman, the king of the monkeys, who joined him with his army of monkeys. These brought huge rocks and built a bridge with these rocks across the straits that separate India from Ceylon. Even to-day huge boulders are pointed out by pious Hindus as the remains of this marvellous enterprise. The town of Lanka was besieged, the giant was defeated and slain, and Sita recovered. The fourteen years of exile having passed, Rama and Sita returned to Ayodhya, where he and his brother reigned gloriously over a contented people.

The Story of the Mahabharata.—The *Mahabharata* embodies the story of the war between the Kurus or Bharatas and the Panchalas, tribes belonging to the same Indo-Aryan stock that found a settled abode in the plains of the Ganges and the Jumna in the period between 1400-1000 B. C. A king of the Kurus left two sons. Dhritarashtra, the elder, was blind, and Pandu, the younger, ascended the throne. Pandu died, leaving five sons, the Pandavas, the heroes of the epic. Quarrels and bickerings soon arose between them and the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra. Among the five sons of Pandu, the eldest, Yudhishtira, was a man of truth and piety, though he was never much of a warrior. The second, Bhima, was known for his mighty stature and prowess. He could uproot a tall tree and use

it as his staff. The third, Arjuna, distinguished himself in archery. These brothers incurred the jealousy and hatred of their cousins, and for some time were driven from the kingdom and compelled to wander about in disguise. They now heard that Drupada, king of the Panchalas, had promised his daughter in marriage to the man who would hit a target which he had caused to be set up beyond a whirling disc high in the air. The kings and princes who had gathered to win the bride failed one after the other. Arjuna then arose, performed the feat, and won the bride, who it is said then married all the five brothers. Strengthened by their alliance with the Panchalas, the sons of Pandu demanded a share of their father's kingdom. The kingdom of the Kurus was accordingly divided. The sons of Dhritarashtra retained the country on the Ganges, and the sons of Pandu built a new capital on the Jumna near the site of modern Delhi. Yudhishtira was, however, soon overtaken by ruin. Fond of gambling, he was challenged to a game by the eldest son of Dhritarashtra. He staked and lost his new kingdom, his wife and his personal liberty and that of his brothers. It was decided that the Pandavas had lost their kingdom, and they agreed to go into exile for twelve years, after which they should remain concealed for a year. If the sons of Dhritarashtra failed to discover them during this last year, they would be restored to their kingdom. When the period of exile was over, the sons of Pandu issued out of their concealment and demanded the restoration of their kingdom. The claim was refused, because it was stated that Arjuna had already been discovered before the year of concealment had expired. The war which followed was one the like of which had not been witnessed in India. All the nations joined one side or the other, and a great battle was fought which lasted for eighteen days to the north of Delhi. The sons of Dhritarashtra were slain, and the sons of Pandu triumphed.

CHAPTER IV.

HINDU EXPANSION OVER INDIA.

1000—350 B. C.

The Rise of Castes.—In the age of the Vedas the Hindus were constantly engaged in wars with the earlier peoples; and long after they were subdued, the distinction between conquerors and conquered endured. The Aryan Hindus never mixed with the Dasyus, the dark-skinned children of the soil. With the lapse of time there arose other distinctions amongst the Hindus themselves. As religious ceremonies became more elaborate, and as great kings took pride in performing sacrifices, it is easy to understand that priests rose in the esteem of the people, until they were regarded, as aloof from the people, as occupying a somewhat privileged position as a *caste*. They devoted their life-time to learning these ceremonies; they alone were able to perform them. People, therefore, thought they alone were worthy of the task. When the priests, the Brahmins, were thus separated from the people by their sanctity, it was considered wrong on their part to marry their daughters to members of an inferior class. The custom gradually became fixed and gave rise to the separate caste of Brahmins.

Similar causes led to the rise of the warrior caste. In the early days the greatest kings were renowned warriors who owned lands and cattle like other people, and were of the people. But in latter days their power increased; their territories also increased; and they were looked up to by thousands of obedient subjects. It was not considered proper for maidens of the royal and military classes to marry

men from the lower ranks of their subjects, though warriors might still choose brides from the people. Thus arose the separate caste of warriors—the Kshatriyas.

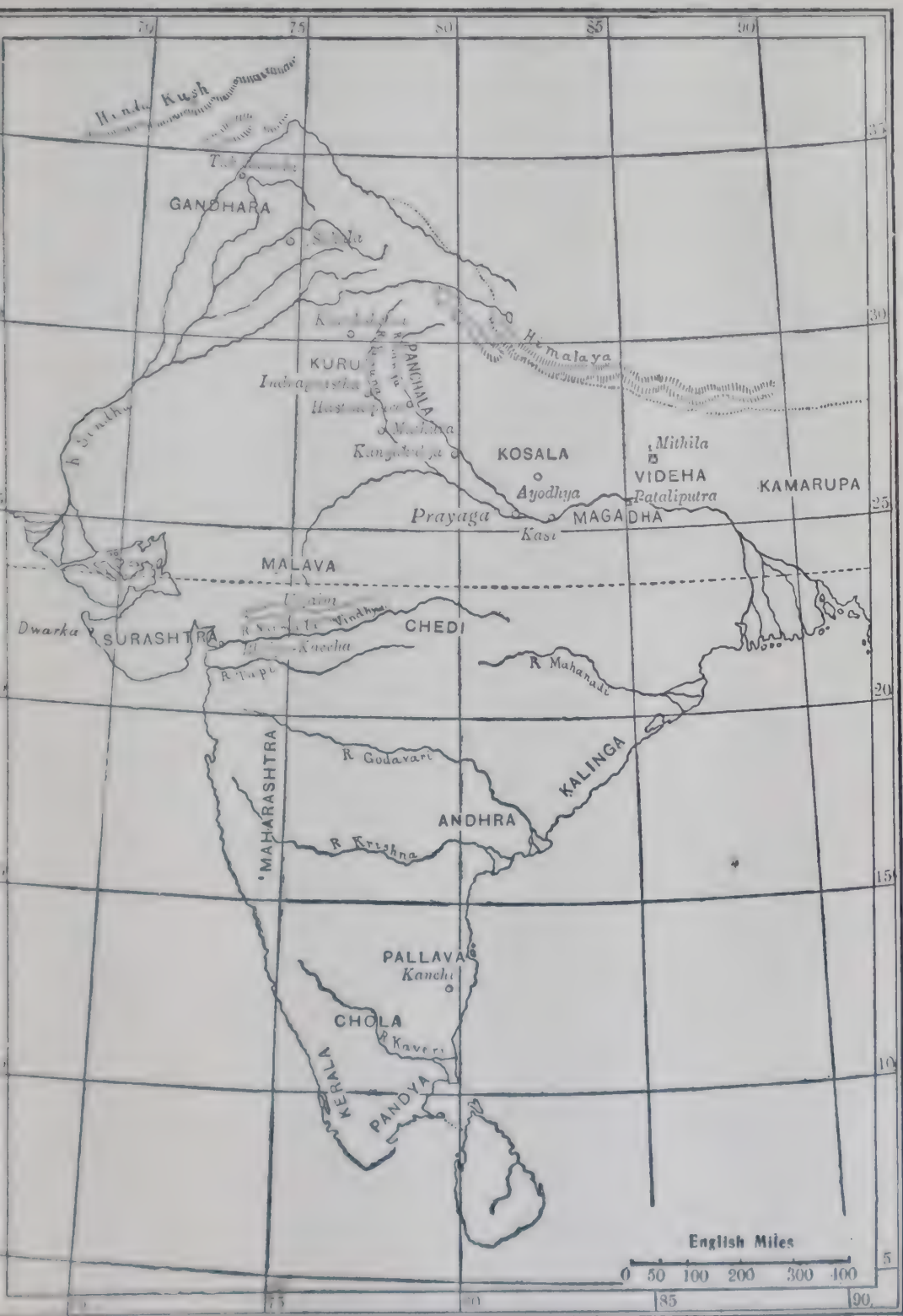
The mass of the Aryan Hindu people retained their ancient name of Visa or Vaisya and formed a separate caste, the Vaisyas. They were agriculturists. Below them were the conquered people, who, though they had adopted the language and life of the conquerors, were kept at a distance and formed the lowest caste—the Sudras.

Thus arose the four castes of India during the period of Brahminic civilisation. The Brahmins held an important rank in the society of those days, and it is probable that they were the first to form themselves into an exclusive caste; but it would be unfair to say that the pride and self-interest of the Brahmins caused them to build up the caste system. The first beginnings of caste, as we have seen, lay in the difference of colour and political relations between the fair-skinned Aryan conquerors and the dark-skinned conquered races. Again, differences in occupation had something to do with these castes. But, when all has been said, there is no complete answer to the question why castes should have arisen in India and not in other countries, though differences of blood, colour and occupation are to be found in countries beyond India.

The Religious Literature of the Age.—We have hitherto spoken only of the *Rig Veda*; but Hindus are usually familiar with four Vedas. Some of the hymns were sung at sacrifices, instead of being recited, and a separate collection was made of these hymns and called *Sama Veda*. Special rules and formulæ also were collected together under the name of *Yajur Veda*. A collection of later hymns, often of charms against evil influences, was known under the name of *Atharva Veda*. The Vedas were commented on and explained by successive generations of Brahmins; and these explanations and comments were known as *Brahmanas*.

Amongst the religious productions of the age the *Upanishads* take a high rank. They embody the beliefs of the learned and the wise, the philosophy and spiritual knowledge of the times, as the *Brahmanas* manifest the practices and beliefs of the people. The main doctrines of the *Upanishads* refer to the transmigration of souls. All things change, and exchange one form for another. When death occurs the soul passes from one body to re-enter another, and this process of entering new bodies continues till the individual soul is merged or absorbed in the Universal Soul, Brahma. All universe and all beings, all souls and all bodies, proceed from Brahma, live in Him, and end in Him.

Hindu Expansion over all India.—1000–350 B. C. — When Northern India had been occupied by Hindu Aryans, colonies were sent out to more distant places. South Bihar or Magadha was early civilised. Malva or Avanti in Central India was brought under Hindu influence and became a seat of Hindu learning, while beyond the Vindhya mountains the Andhras had a powerful kingdom in the Deccan. Hindu tribes settled in Gujarat and founded the seaport of Dvarka. By the fourth century B. C. the Pandyas, the Cholas and the Cheras founded powerful kingdoms south of the Kistna — the Cholas on the Coromandel coast, the Cheras on the Malabar coast, and the Pandyas in the extreme south near Cape Comorin. Thus the whole of India, except wild and desert tracts, had received Hindu manners, Hindu religion and culture before the time of Alexander the Great. But there was this difference between the Hindus of the Punjab and those of the rest of India. In the Punjab and in the Ganges basin the Hindus had driven out or killed the earlier inhabitants, and the population of these districts even to-day is of pure Aryan stock. In the Deccan, in Bihar and Bengal the Hindus found the earlier races more or less civilised and too powerful in numbers to be driven out or destroyed. The Hindus had to be content with



ANCIENT INDIA.

giving their language, their religion and their culture to the people of the soil. Thus the population of Southern and Eastern India to-day are a non-Aryan stock.

The Triumph of the Brahmin Caste.—The spread of Hinduism over the length and breadth of India brought with it an extension of the caste system. The priest who was the companion and servant of the king now becomes his superior. The importance of performing the proper ceremonies became so great that the priests, or Brahmins, who alone could do this, acquired power and influence over all other classes in the State. The rules of caste under Brahmin supremacy became more rigid, and as occupations multiplied and as peoples with different habits, ways of life and customs were brought into contact with the Hindus, the four castes of the earlier days were overshadowed by the growth of innumerable sub-castes.

CHAPTER V.

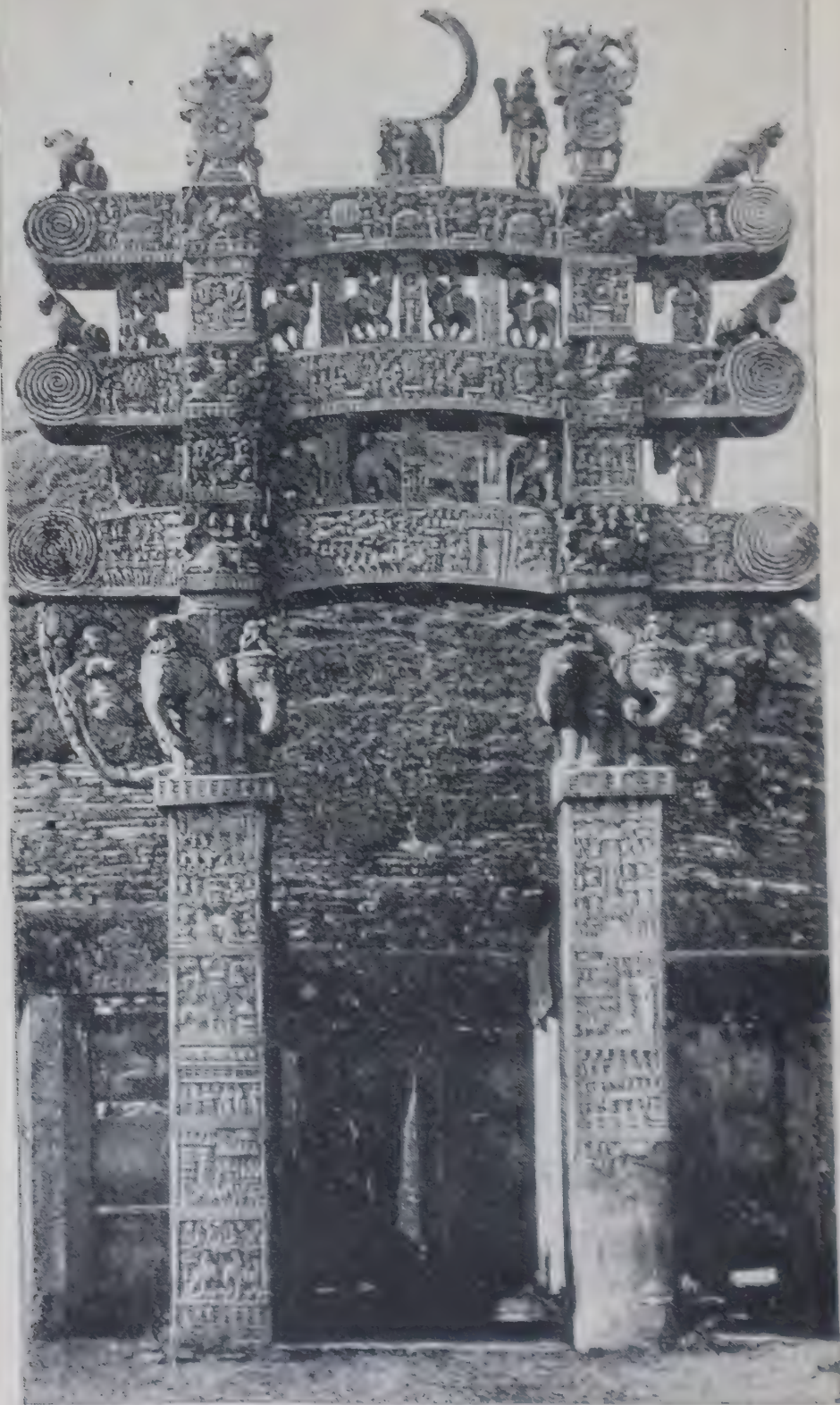
BUDDHA.—ALEXANDER'S INVASION.

Buddha (563-483 B. C.) and his Religion.—The growing supremacy of the Brahmins had made them intent on promoting their own interests. The sole possessors of all knowledge, they kept it to themselves and allowed the mass of the people to remain in ignorance and superstition. But in the sixth century we find a new class of religious teachers coming into existence, known by the general name of *sannyasis*, men who renounced the world and lived on alms. Their number was the largest in places near the Himalayas; and it was in one of these sects of teachers that Gautama Buddha was born. He was known in later ages as the Buddha, because he claimed to have attained *bodhi* or supreme knowledge. He was born of a royal family at Kapilavastu. He was given to study and contemplation, and impressed with the vanity of all earthly things he gave up his kingdom and luxurious home, wife and child, and went forth into the world a beggar. For long he sought in vain the way for saving the souls of his fellow-men. At last the truth flashed on him and he preached it far and wide. He started his preaching at Benares; thence he went to Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha; and also travelled to Kosambi and various other places in Northern India, and southwards as far as Nalanda. The King of Kosala and the King of Magadha having embraced his faith, a large number of their subjects flocked to him. Buddha knew that severe penances and austerities injured health of both body and mind; and therefore



BUDDHA.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann. Calcutta



FRONT VIEW OF NORTH GATE,
SANCHI TOPE.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.

he prohibited them. He taught his disciples to follow a middle course: he prohibited severe austerities, but he also prohibited pleasures. For the first time he founded those monastic orders which have exercised in Europe and Asia such a marvellous influence. Amongst the things that he preached were respect for life, love of truth, avoiding of liquors and all forms of sensual pleasures in excess.

Dr. Oldenberg has left us a remarkable picture of the preacher and his disciples: "He rises early when the light of dawn appears in the sky, and spends the early moments in spiritual exercises or in conversation with his disciples, and then he proceeds with his companion towards the town. In the days when his reputation stood at his highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man, before whom kings bowed themselves, alms-bowl in hand, going through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with down-cast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl." Buddha died at the age of eighty after a missionary life of forty-five years. The story of his last moment is told us in an old Pali book, "The Book of the Great Decease." The fatal illness was brought on by a meal prepared in honour of the master by a poor goldsmith. With his usual courtesy he partook of it alone. Then he set out on his last journey, but by the side of a stream, weary and sick, he lay down to rest. Refreshed a little, he managed to reach a neighbouring grove, where the final attack overtook him. Ananda, his faithful disciple, forgot all the teachings of a life-time and broke out into sobs. But the dying saint rebuked him in words of comfort. "Ananda," said he, "do not weep. The very fact that I exist contains in itself the germ of my dissolution, for what is born must

also die." His last words sum up his teaching: "Brethren, work out your salvation with diligence; and remember that decay is inherent in all component things."

Jainism.—The Jain religion was for a very long time believed to be a branch or offshoot of the Buddhist movement; but we have now come to recognise that Buddhism and Jainism were parallel religious movements, independent of each other and favoured in their growth by similar conditions. But while Buddhism lost its hold on the minds of the people in India, Jainism still exists as a living faith in some parts of the country.

Mahavira, the founder of the Jain religion, was the son of a Kshatriya who lived near Vaisali, the capital of Videha. Mahavira's mother is said to have been closely related to the famous Bimbisara, king of Magadha. Mahavira, at first known as Vardhamana, after the death of his parents, renounced the world and joined one of the holy orders of monks which then existed in India. He left this order, however, as he was dissatisfied with its exclusiveness and aristocratic pride. He then wandered about the country like a true ascetic, with no garments on his body, and gained a following whom he organised into a new order. Magadha, Videha and Kosala (Oudh) are mentioned among the places of his missionary activities, and he is said to have died about 527 B. C.

The Jains, like the Buddhists, have no hereditary priesthood. They refrain from killing animals, and in some respects go even further than the Buddhist, in as much as they maintain that not only animals and plants, but the smallest particles of the elements, fire, air, earth and water have life in them. They believe in the transmigration of souls, and maintain that *Moksha*, or freedom from the round of birth and death, can be reached by any one, Brahmin or Sudra, who leads a life of virtue, free from passion, and who abstains from sinful thoughts and deeds.

The Jain temples are large and handsome, often flat-roofed, with courts and colonnades. The walls are painted with legends, and besides images they have marble altars, with figures of saints in relief. The finest specimen of a Jain temple is that of the group of buildings at Mount Abu.

The Kingdom of Magadha.—Amongst the many small kingdoms established by the Hindus over the whole of India one was destined to rise into importance. The kingdom of Magadha or South Bihar, ruled by a Kshatriya dynasty, called Saisunaga, gradually brought under its subjection the weaker states, till it ultimately developed into a large empire, embracing nearly the whole of India. One of the kings of Magadha built the strong fort of Pataliputra, near the site of modern Patna. A city rose round the fort, and became in later days the chief city not only of Magadha but of all India. Both the Jain and Buddhist religions arose either in this kingdom or on its borders, and Hinduism possessed a stronghold in the neighbouring city of Benares. Bimbisara, the fifth monarch of this Kshatriya dynasty, was the friend and patron of Gautama Buddha. He was subsequently deposed and starved to death by his son and successor Ajatasatru. Some say he retired into private life, leaving his favourite son as regent. The Kshatriya dynasty of Saisunaga was overthrown by Mahapadma Nanda, a Sudra, and his family ruled the empire for about a hundred years.

Alexander's Invasion of India.—326 B. C.—It was in the reign of Mahapadma Nanda that Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, invaded India. After having overthrown the Persian Empire, Alexander crossed the Indus. The king of Taxila, then a great city in the Punjab, submitted; but Porus, a king belonging to the Puru family, made a vigorous, though vain, resistance. He was defeated, in the battle of the Hydaspes (Jhelum), in which Alexander encountered successfully an army of 30,000

infantry, with 200 elephants. Alexander then pushed on across the river of the Punjab. He was anxious to conquer Magadha, but his soldiers refused to follow him. He sought to rouse their enthusiasm by promising to them the dominion and riches of all Asia, but in vain. He was obliged to turn back. His officers had built near Jhelum a fleet of about 2,000 vessels, on which he now embarked a part of his army. The fleet sailed round by sea to the Persian gulf. Alexander with the rest of his army passed through Baluchistan into Persia.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAURYA EMPIRE.

THE SUNGA AND KANVA DYNASTIES.

THE KUSHAN EMPIRE.

Chandra Gupta.—While Alexander was in the Punjab, Chandra Gupta, a rebel whom Nanda had exiled, joined him and lived for some time in his camp. There he learnt the Greek mode of warfare ; but he offended Alexander by his haughty bearing and had to fly for his life. After the departure of Alexander, Chandra Gupta gathered round him a band of warriors, conquered Magadha and made himself master of the whole of Northern India, about 325 B. C. The dynasty which he founded is known as the Maurya dynasty. On the death of Alexander (323 B. C.) he succeeded in conquering the Punjab and added it to his empire. Seleucus, one of the generals of Alexander, who had founded a new kingdom in Central Asia, attempted to regain the Punjab, but was defeated by Chandra Gupta and obliged to make peace (305 B. C.). From this time Seleucus and Chandra Gupta were friends. Chandra Gupta ascended the throne at an early age, and reigned about twenty-four years. During the period of his rule he thoroughly organised the civil government of his vast empire. His power was so firmly established that it passed without any civil quarrels into the hands of his son and grandson, and his friendship and alliance were sought after even by the Greek dynasties of Asia Minor. Though his government was based on his personal power, it was far from being arbitrary. He ruled in the interests of his subjects, and his administration bears witness to a

sincere desire to rule wisely and well. During Chandra Gupta's reign, a Greek ambassador, named Megasthenes, was sent to India by Seleucus to report on the manners and customs of the Indians. He lived in Pataliputra, Chandra Gupta's capital, for five years ; and he wrote a great work on India which throws considerable light on the condition of the country in this period.

Megasthenes' account of India.—(a) The people.—Megasthenes employed all his leisure time in writing an excellent description of India, from which we take the following interesting extracts. With regard to the people, whom he saw and lived amongst, he says : “ The inhabitants, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed the ordinary stature and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts. They almost always gather in two harvests annually. It is affirmed that famine has never visited India. There are usages observed by Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine ; for in the contests of war, among the Indians, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, since the combatants allow them to remain quite unmolested. All the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. They live frugally and observe very good order. Theft is of very rare occurrence. The simplicity of their laws is proved by the fact that they seldom appeal to law. They neither put out money at usury or know how to borrow. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style they love finery and ornaments. Their robes are worked in gold, and they wear flowered garments of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold umbrellas over them ; for they have a high

regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks."

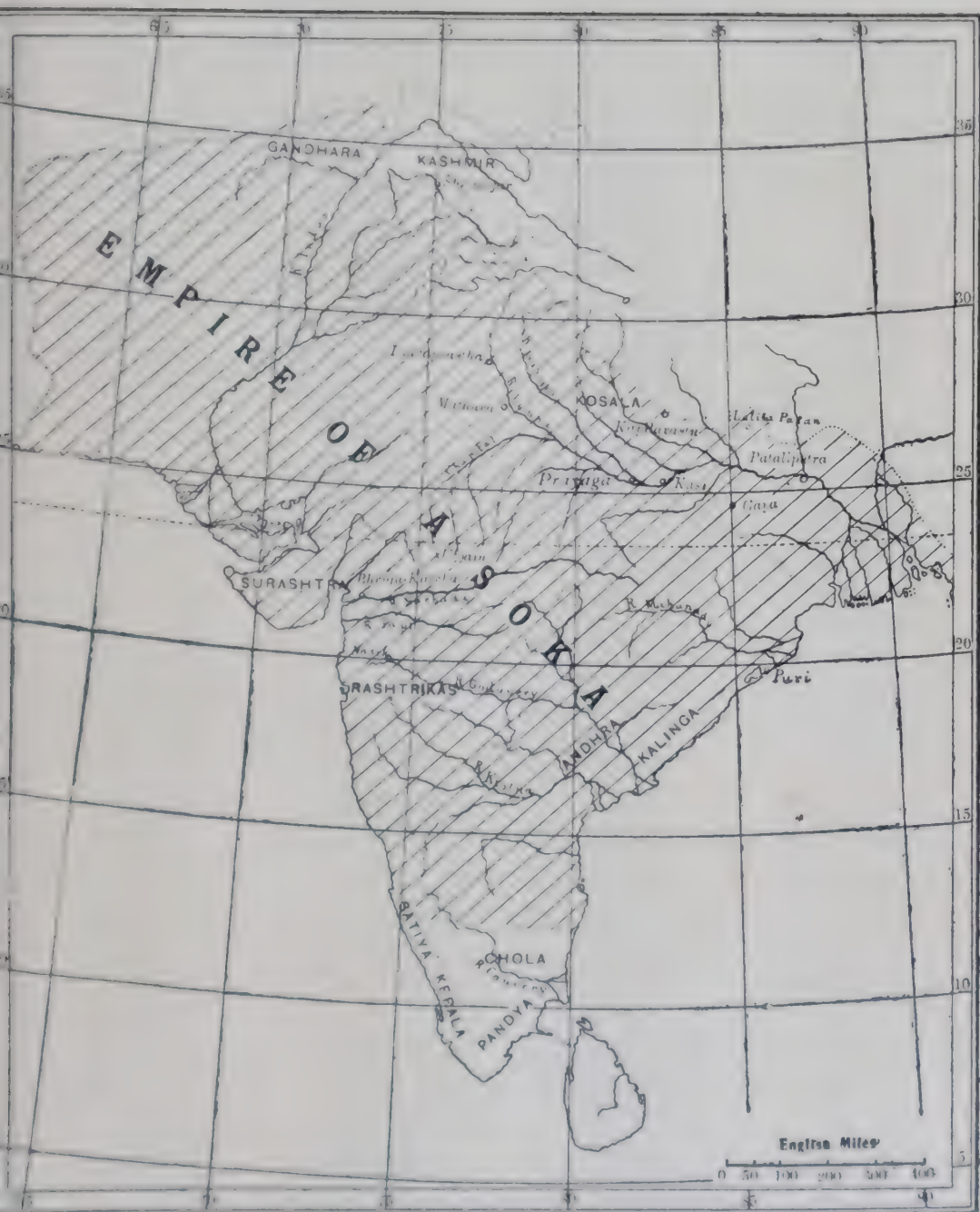
(b) **The Administration.**—Of the administration of the kingdom and particularly of Pataliputra he says: "Of the great officers of state some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers, while some superintend the canals and measure the land, some collect the taxes and some construct roads. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first body looks after every thing relating to the industrial arts. The second attends to the entertainment of foreigners. The third body inquires when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognisance of government. The fourth body superintends trade and commerce, and has charge of weights and measures. The fifth supervises the sale of manufactured articles, and the sixth collects the tithe on such articles."

(c) **'The Philosopher caste.'**—His description of the 'philosopher caste' is equally interesting. This caste he divides into Brahmans or householders and Śrāmans or ascetics. Of the former he says: "They have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate sized enclosure. They live in a simple style and lie on beds of rushes. They abstain from animal food and sensual pleasures, and spend their times listening to religious discourse and imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. After living in this manner for seven and thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security." Of the Sramans or ascetics he tells us that "they live in the wood, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees." Some of them practise medicine. "They effect cures rather by regulating diet

than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters."

Asoka.—273-232 B. C.—Chandra Gupta died about 298 B. C. and was succeeded by his son Bindusara of whom little is known beyond the fact that he was a great conqueror and carried on wars in the distant north and possibly in the south as well. Bindusara's son Asoka was viceroy of Ujjain and other places during his father's life-time, and ascended the throne about 273 B. C. His first object was to extend his empire. He was the undoubted lord of Northern India, and recent researches have shown that he was master also of the greater part of the Deccan. He invaded the Kalingas, or the countries bordering on the Bay of Bengal, and he succeeded in conquering them, after a three years' war in which enormous numbers were killed. This war wrought a change in the character of Asoka. Remorse for the numberless lives he had needlessly sacrificed took hold of him. From being ferocious, he now came to be regarded as pious. He adopted the Buddhist creed, and made pilgrimages almost every year. He induced his son and daughter to embrace the monastic life, and sent them to Ceylon to preach Buddhism. He also sent Bhikshus (Buddhist mendicants) to preach in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Tibet, Lower Burma, and in the districts in Konkan and on the Malabar coast.

His Edicts.—His inscriptions are to be found on rock and stone pillars scattered all over Northern India and the Deccan. These edicts on rocks and pillars give us a good idea of the care he bestowed on his empire and of his piety. The fourteen edicts on the rocks, inscribed in the Pali language, the spoken language of Northern India, amongst other things, prohibited the slaughter of animals, appointed ministers of religion and missionaries and moral instructors, recommended pious enjoyments in preference to sensual amusements, and declared that instruction in religion was the best of all kinds of charity. "The teaching of religion is the most meritorious of acts. There is no gift comparable to the gift



EMPIRE OF ASOKA.

of religion." One of these rock edicts refers to the work of Buddhist preachers on the shores of Greece, Egypt and Syria, sent by the great monarch to propagate the gospel of salvation. The pillar edicts, eight in number, directed the missionaries to work with zeal ; explained religion to be mercy, purity, truth and charity ; entrusted the religious instruction of the people to officers of the state, and mentioned the works of public utility undertaken and accomplished by the monarch. These latter include the planting of trees, the digging of canals, the building of rest-houses for travellers and hospitals for the sick.

There can be no doubt that it was Asoka who by his comprehensive and well planned measures transformed the local Indian sect of the Buddhists into one of the great religions of the world. On the death of Buddha his religion was a mere sect of Hinduism, unknown except within very narrow limits, and with no better chance of survival than that possessed by other sects of those days now forgotten. It was the support and patronage of Asoka that made the fortune of Buddhism and raised it to the rank of one of the first religions of the world.

Asoka was a hard-working king. He was ready to receive reports at all times and hours and in any place ; and yet he was never satisfied with himself as to the resulting success. " His edicts reveal him as a monarch who endeavoured to combine in his person the piety of a monk with the wisdom of a ruler, and to make India a kingdom of righteousness where all things were to be subordinated to a faith preached in gentleness and moderation."

The Sunga and Kanva Dynasties.—The Maurya dynasty ended forty-seven years after Asoka's death. Pushyamitra Sunga, the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya king, slew his master, and founded the Sunga dynasty about 185 B. C. The rule of Pushyamitra was marked by an invasion of Menander, the Greek king of Kabul and the

Punjab. After much fighting he was driven back to the Punjab. Pushyamitra was a great general and a patron of learning. Patanjali the founder of the Yoga system of philosophy, flourished during his reign. Pushyamitra died about 148 B. C. Some of the kings of this dynasty were powerful. They are said to have transferred their capital from Pataliputra to Vidisa, the modern Vilsa. But in course of time they lost their prestige. The last of the kings was given to low vices. He was stabbed to death at the instigation of a Brahmin minister Vasudeva, about 73 B. C. Vasudeva usurped the throne and founded a new line of rulers known as the Kanva dynasty, so called from Vasudeva's ancestor, Kanva. Four kings of this dynasty ruled Magadha within the short period of forty-five years. Nothing whatever is known about these kings, the last of whom was slain by an Andhra prince from the Deccan about 28 B. C.

The Andhra Dynasty.—While the royal houses of Northern India had drifted into a state of feebleness more vigorous rulers came from the south. The Andhras, an Aryanised Dravidian people, whose kings, according to Megasthenes, had an army of 100,000 foot soldiers, 2000 cavalry and 100 elephants, had established a kingdom in the Deccan in the second century B. C. Their kingdom soon extended from the Eastern to the Western Ghats, with Nasik, as the capital. As stated above, in 28 B. C. an Andhra king slew the last of the Kanvas. The Andhra kings were also known as Satavahanas and most of them took the title Satakarni. During their rule the Deccan seems to have been a rich country where trade and commerce flourished. Kalyan was a trading centre of great importance. The wealth of private traders is evidenced by the cave temple at Karli, near Bombay, made by a rich citizen of Vaijaynti (Vijayadroog) in Canara. Buddhism was the religion of the country. The revenues of entire villages were often granted by the kings for the support of the Buddhist monks. The

Andhra power began to decline in the beginning of the third century A. D. and finally disappeared early in the fifth.

The Greeks and the Parthians.—After Asoka's death, parts of the empire lying west of the Indus also became independent and were governed by a number of petty Greek chiefs. The most famous of these was Menander who, as already related, invaded India about 155 B. C. and conquered the whole of Western India as far as the Ganges. Some of the frontier regions were also under the rule of Parthian or Pahlava princes, one of whom, Mithridates I., annexed the Western Punjab to his dominions about 138 B. C.

The Sakas and the Yueh-chi.—In the middle of the second century B. C. a horde of Mongolian nomads from Central Asia, known in Indian history as the Sakas, crossed the Hindu Kush and poured into Afghanistan. The Sakas overthrew the petty Greek kingdoms west of the Indus and penetrated into India, where some of their chiefs founded settlements at Takshasila (Taxila), Mathura (Muttra), and Surashtra (Kathiawar).

Later on another horde of nomads from Central Asia, known as the Yueh-chi, followed the Sakas whom they had previously driven out of their homes on the Jaxarteš. The Yueh-chi gradually became very powerful, and ultimately destroyed the Greek and Parthian principalities on the north-west frontier. About A. D. 85 their king Kadphises II. crossed the Indus and consolidated his power eastward as far as Benares.

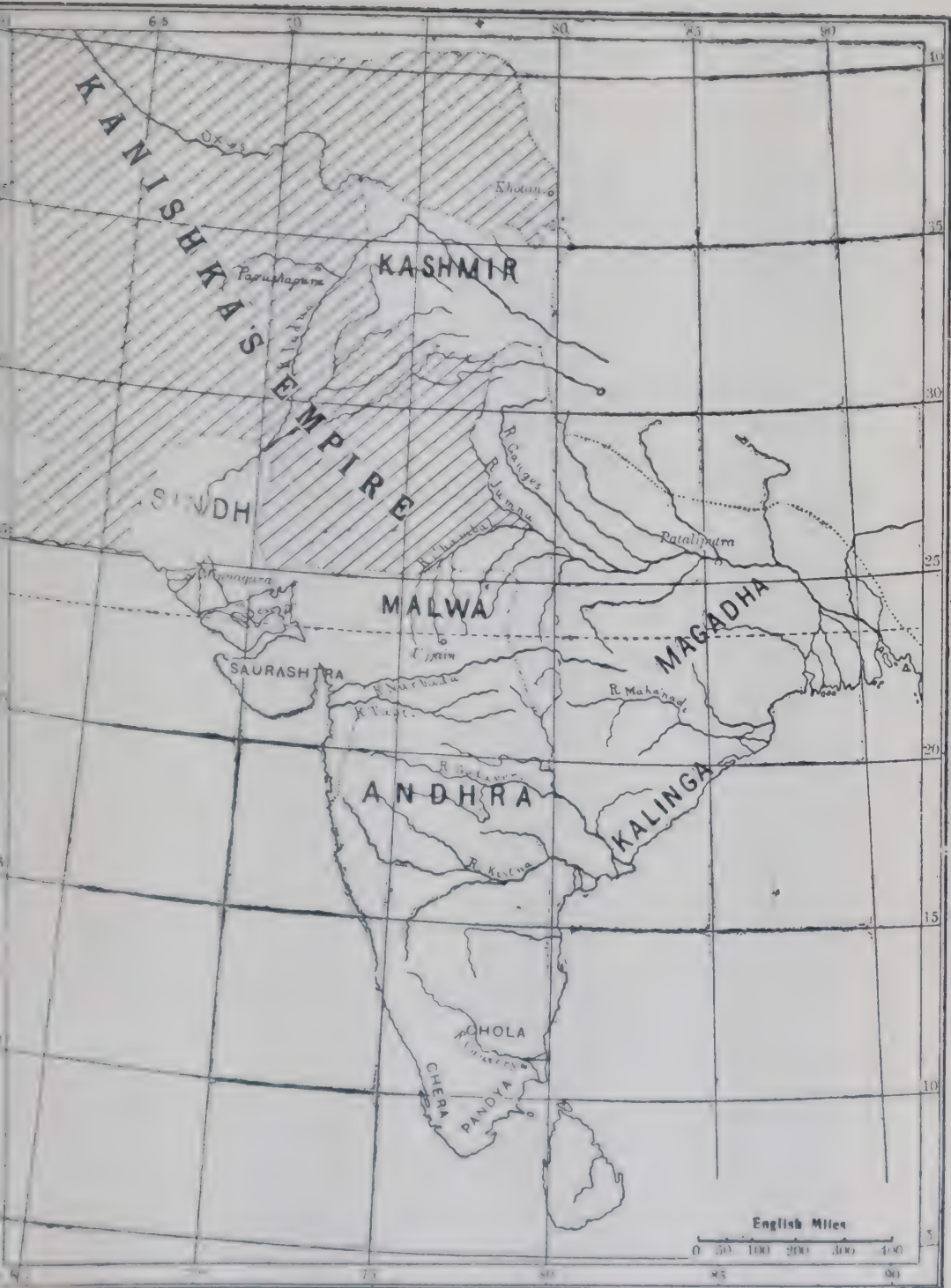
Kanishka.—His successor, the great Kanishka* (whose date is much disputed), reigned at least for forty years and made Purushapura (Peshawar) his capital. He belonged to the Kushan tribe of the Yueh-chi, and became a zealous Buddhist. During his reign a great Buddhist Council was held to consider the main doctrines of the Northern form of Buddhism which encouraged the practice of paying divine

* His accession may be assigned to A. D. 120 approximately.

honours to the Buddha. In India Kanishka extended his conquests into Kashmir, and as far east as Pataliputra. Even so his dominions outside the limits of India were vaster than his possessions within it.

Kanishka was succeeded by Huvishka (about A. D. 162) who also was a powerful prince. He reigned for about twenty years and was followed by Vasudeva whose reign came to an end in A. D. 220. After his death the Kushan empire began to break up.

Buddhist Architecture and Art.—The earliest specimens of Hindu architecture which still exist belong to the Buddhist period. The Buddhist clergy required large buildings for the monks and nuns who lived together. These *viharas* or monasteries were usually caves cut out of the rocks. Specimens of these monasteries are still to be found in the Ajanta caves, in the Aurangabad district. One of the largest of these Ajanta caves, cave No. 16, measures sixty-five feet each way and has twenty pillars. It has sixteen cells for monks on two sides, a great hall in the centre, and a sanctuary at the back. All the walls are painted with scenes from the life of Buddha. The *viharas* at Ellora on the other hand are interesting because they illustrate the interrelation of the three Indian religions—Buddhism, Brahminism and Jainism. We have three groups of caves here which distinctly represent these religions. Pilgrimages to sacred spots formed one of the features of the Buddhist religion and these sacred places were marked with lofty topes called *stupas*. These *stupas* on mounds were constructed of brick and were sometimes raised to cover the relics of some saint. The large ones were often surrounded by richly carved stone railings. The best preserved example is the great *stupa* at Sanchi in Bhopal. Buddhist churches or *chaityas* were also caves cut out of the solid rocks. They are to be found in many parts of India, but nine-tenths of them are in the Bombay Presidency. There are *chaityas*



INDIA IN KING KANISHKA'S TIME.



AJANTA CAVE.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.



CAVE TEMPLE, KARLA.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.

at Ellora in Aurangabad and near Borivli in Salsette. But the finest of them is at Karla between Bombay and Poona. It was excavated in the first century B. C., and consists of a nave and side-aisles. Fifteen pillars on each side separate the nave from the aisles, and each pillar has figures of elephants on the top, with human figures over them. The whole interior of the cave is lighted by one undivided volume of light coming from a single opening at the top.



CHAPTER VII.

THE GUPTA EMPIRE.

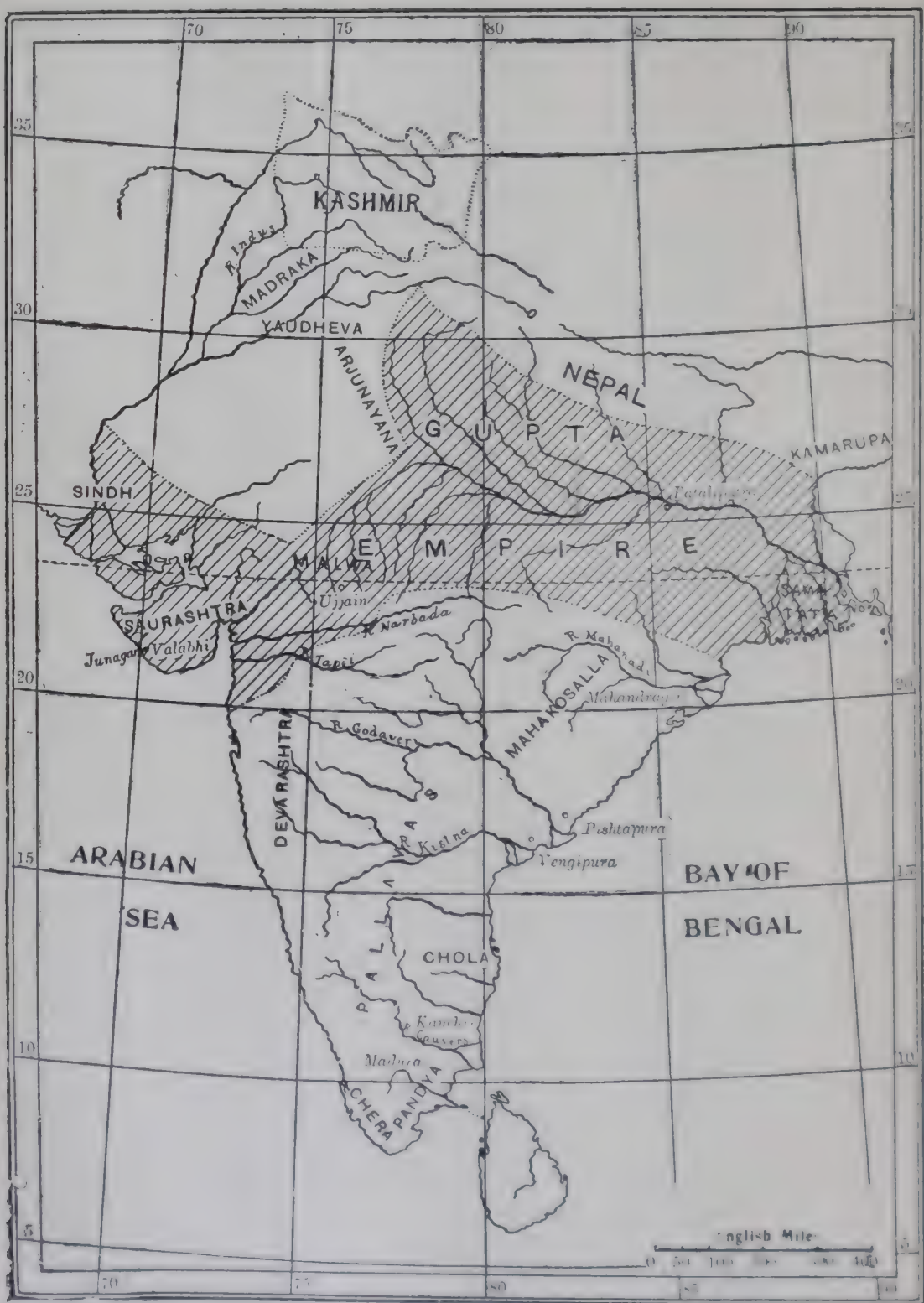
THE HUNS.

THE EMPIRE OF HARSHA.

Chandra Gupta.—A. D. 320–330.—The land of the Kurus and the Panchalas on the upper course of the Ganges had been a civilised country in the epic age ; and although it declined in importance when Magadha rose to power, it was still considered sacred as the home of the pure Hindus. After the decline of Magadha this land regained its importance under the dynasty of the Guptas. This dynasty commenced its rule in the fourth century. Chandra Gupta, the founder of the dynasty, was a local Raja near Pataliputra who had married Kumara Devi who belonged to the ancient Lichchhavi clan. Through the influence of his wife he secured a paramount position in Magadha and the surrounding countries. He assumed the lofty title of "Sovereign of Maharajas," struck coins in the joint names of himself, his queen, and the Lichchhavis, and ruled a fertile territory including Tirhut, Bihar, Oudh and adjoining districts.

Samudra Gupta.—A. D. 330–375.—Chandra Gupta was followed by his son Samudra Gupta, who from the moment of his accession assumed the part of an aggressive monarch bent on increasing his dominions. In Northern India he subjugated the Rajas in the Gangetic plain and annexed their dominions. Amongst the nine kings whom he is said to have overthrown in Northern India only one name can be identified, that of Ganapati Naga, whose capital was





GUPTA EMPIRE.

at Padmavati. Samudra Gupta then turned to the South. He overthrew the king of South Kosala, subdued the forest chiefs, and extended his conquests as far as Kanchi or Conjeevaram to the south-west of Madras. The king of Ceylon sent an embassy with valuable gifts to Samudra Gupta. But owing to their distance from the heart of the empire these southern kingdoms were never annexed to the empire and the invader was obliged to content himself with their temporary subjugation. Samudra Gupta was a poet and liberal patron of Sanskrit literature. He employed a learned poet to sing of his achievements, and he caused these Sanskrit verses to be engraved on one of the stone pillars set up six centuries before by Asoka, and incised with his edicts. Although the praises of the court poet cannot be accepted without reservation, Samudra Gupta was a ruler of varied gifts and exceptional ability. We have a few rare gold coins of his era which show him seated on a couch playing the Indian lyre. We are further told that he took delight in the society of the learned, and interested himself in the study and defence of sacred scriptures as well as in the lighter arts of poetry and music.

Chandra Gupta II.—A. D. 375-413.—The son and successor of Samudra Gupta assumed the name of his grandfather and is known as Chandra Gupta the Second. He also adopted the title of Vikramaditya (‘Sun of power’). The western conquests of his father had not extended into Central India. Chandra Gupta annexed the whole of Malwa and the peninsula of Surashtra (Kathiawar) to the empire which was thus extended on the west as far as the Arabian Sea. Surashtra had been ruled for three centuries by the Saka dynasty which was overthrown in A. D. 395.

Fa-hien’s Account of India.—The accounts which a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Fa-hien, has left throw interesting light on the condition of the country in this period. Fa-hien spent six years (A. D. 406-11) travelling in Chandra

Gupta's dominions. Pataliputra, the ancient capital, was still a flourishing city, inhabited by people who seemed to the pious pilgrim to "vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and virtue." The town of Magadha were the largest in the Gangetic plain; the people were rich and prosperous. Charitable institutions were numerous. Rest-houses for travellers were provided on the highways, and the capital possessed an excellent free hospital, endowed by benevolent and educated citizens. This was early in the fifth century; the earliest hospital in Europe is said to have been opened in the tenth century. In the course of a journey of some five hundred miles from the Indus to Mathura on the Jumna, Fa-hien passed a succession of Buddhist monasteries teeming with monks. Malwa was specially admired by the traveller on account of its natural advantages, the disposition of the people, and the moderation of the government. The large population lived happily under a sensible government. The criminal law appeared to him mild as compared with that of the Chinese. Most crimes were punished only by fines: and capital punishment would seem to have been unknown. The revenue was derived mainly from the rents of the crown lands. The officers being provided with fixed salaries had no reason to be oppressive towards the people.

The Successors of Chandra Gupta II.—Chandra Gupta II. was followed by Kumara Gupta who maintained the integrity of the empire which he had inherited. During the reign of Skanda Gupta, the grandson of Chandra Gupta II., the Huns began to pour into India from their desert homes in Central Asia. They soon overran the Punjab and the neighbouring countries, and fell upon the Gupta Empire. Skanda Gupta at first successfully repelled them; but they returned in vast hordes and at last shattered the fabric of the Gupta empire, about A. D. 480. Skanda Gupta was thus the last of the great Guptas.

The Golden Age of the Guptas.—The Guptas were patrons of learning. Under them Sanskrit began to be used again in all affairs of life in the place of Prakrit, the vernacular of the period. Hinduism began to revive and Buddhism declined. Arts, manufactures and commerce flourished during the peace which their rule gave to the country.

The Huns.—After they had destroyed the Gupta Empire the Huns established their capital at Sakala (Sialkot) in the Punjab. They also conquered eastern Malwa. Toramana, who was the first leader of the Huns, was succeeded by Mihiragula, about A. D. 502. The latter, we are told, sustained a defeat at the hands of Yasodharman, the king of the Ujjain in Malwa, about A. D. 528. The defeated Hun took refuge in Kashmir; there he overthrew the king of Kashmir and ruled for some years. Though the Huns achieved no further victories, they continued to survive in small communities in the Punjab and Rajputana, and added a new element to the population of India.

Vikramaditya of Indian Legends.—Some historians tell us that Yasodharman may be the same as the great Vikramaditya of Indian legends. Very few events are historically established in connection with his rule. He had his capital at Ujjain in Central India, but his power extended over a large part of Northern India. He favoured the Hindu religion, but refrained from persecuting Buddhists. He was a patron of poetry, arts and science, and was surrounded by a group of brilliant men. Tales and legends without number, current in India even to this day, bear witness to the traditional glory of the period with which his name is associated.

The Kingdom of Thaneshvar—King Harsha.—A. D. 606-647.—The empire of Yasodharman included many dependent kingdoms. Amongst them we may mention

four : (1) the kingdom of Gujarat, of which the city of Valabhi was the capital ; (2) the Gupta kingdom of Magadha, made up of three different dynasties of Gupta rulers, with small territories ; (3) the Maukhari kingdom of which Kanauj was the capital ; and (4) the kingdom of Thanesvar, which rose into importance under king Prabha-kara. Under his successor Rajyavardhan, Kanauj was reconquered and friendly relations were established with Western Bengal. But Rajyavardhan was killed in battle by Sasanka, the king of Western Bengal, and his brother Harshavardhan (King Harsha) succeeded him (A. D. 606). Harsha led an army into Bengal to avenge his brother's death, and destroyed the power of Sasanka. In a short time he made himself master of Northern India and removed his capital from Thanesvar to Kanauj. He was anxious to conquer the Deccan ; but Pulakesin II., the Chalukya king, defeated him and drove him back (A. D. 620). Harsha was a Buddhist, and a great patron of learning. His untiring energy and his strict supervision enabled him to exercise an effective control over his large empire. He was always moving about in his dominions, except in the rainy seasons, punishing evil doers, rewarding merit, and inquiring into the condition and administration of the different subject states and provinces. He was the last monarch, before the Muhammadan conquest, who held the position of paramount power in the North. On his death the numerous small states, which had been held together as parts of a large empire through his ability and influence, became separate kingdoms which fought with one another and wasted their resources and strength in such petty warfare.

The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and his Account.—Another Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India between A. D. 630 and 645 and in his travels has recorded observations of a detailed character concerning the places



EMPIRE OF HARSHA.

and districts he visited. Mathura was a flourishing city with many Buddhist monasteries. Haridvara (Hardwar), near the source of the Ganges, was a great place of Hindu pilgrimage. Kanauj was a flourishing capital, with an agreeable climate. The people were contented and happy, honest and sincere ; and learning was respected. The Buddhists and the Hindus lived amicably side by side, and there were a hundred Buddhist monasteries and two hundred Hindu temples. Benares and Prayaga (Allahabad) were sacred cities of the Hindus frequented by Hindu pilgrims. Magadha on the other hand was in a state of decline. Pataliputra, which had been the capital of India from the time of Chandra Gupta, was entirely deserted. Violent crimes were rare, but the roads and river routes were infested by robbers. Punishments were more sanguinary than in the Gupta period. Education was diffused widely, and learning was honoured by the government.

Decline of Buddhism.—The memoirs of Hiuen Tsang show that in some parts of India Buddhist monasteries had fallen into ruin ; that the Buddhist priests had forgotten the spirit of Buddha's teaching, and led illiterate and idle lives. Buddhism failed to satisfy the religious needs of a people prone to superstition, and to the worship of local deities in close contact with their daily lives. It had no gods, no creed, no priesthood for interpreting the will of god to man ; and its decline was coincident in time with the growth of a new Hinduism, the revival of the Vedic beliefs in combination with local superstitions and local religious beliefs.

Revival of Sanskrit Literature.—The revival of Brahminical Hinduism was accompanied by the extension of Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Brahmins. This revival of the Sanskrit language was largely fostered by the Gupta emperors. The institutes of Manu belong to an earlier period, the first century A. D. The civil laws of Manu are held to be the foundation of the Hindu law. The rest

of the work deals with criminal law, civil and military administration, religious rites and social and domestic duties. To a later date, and as manifesting the Hindu revival proper, may be ascribed the *Puranas*, chronicles of the days of old, containing endless legends about ancient kings and heroes, lists of kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties and of the Magadha empire, descriptions of places of pilgrimage, accounts of the gods and goddesses of post-Vedic times. To the same period may also be assigned the dramas of Kalidasa, one of the 'nine gems' of Vikramaditya's court, whose immortal drama *Sakuntala* has a world-wide reputation. The play describes the love of a legendary prince for a forest maiden born of a nymph, and "the freshness, tenderness and pathos of the drama have seldom been excelled by any other creation of the human imagination."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RAJPUTS AND HINDU KINGDOMS OF THE NORTH.

A. D. 650—1300.

The Arabs in Sindh.—After the Arabian tribes had been converted to the faith of Islam by the preaching of the prophet Muhammad they spread out in all directions and successively conquered Northern Africa, Asiatic Turkey and Persia. The Arabs or Mohammedans, as they were now called, pursued their career of conquest and sent an expedition to Sindh, under Muhammad bin Kasim (A. D. 712). He crossed the desert of Baluchistan and made himself master of Sindh, destroying the rich cities of Alor and Bahmanabad. They kept possession of the district for more than three centuries, till they were absorbed in the empire of Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Rise of the Rajputs.—The history of Northern India in the ninth and tenth centuries is almost a blank. No great dynasty rose to power. The power of the old races of the land was swept away; and when after a time history throws some light on the scene we find the Rajputs masters of India. It is not possible to say with certainty who the Rajputs were. There are reasons for believing that they were of mixed descent, partly Hindu and partly foreign. During the fifth and sixth centuries, as we have seen, the Huns or the Sakas and other foreign settlers had

taken up their abode in the Punjab and Rajputana. In three or four generations they became Hinduised and were recognised as Hindu castes. Their chiefs and warriors became part of the Kshatriya caste, while others passed into lower castes.

The Pala Dynasty.—About the middle of the eighth century a chieftain named Gopala founded a kingdom in Bengal and extended his power over Magadha. He is said to have made Odantapuri, or Otantapuri, his capital. Gopala's successor, Dharmapala, carried his conquest as far west as Delhi. His successor, Devapala, conquered Kamrupa and Orissa. The kings of the Pala family were Buddhists. There were seventeen kings of the dynasty and some of them were very powerful. They constructed tanks and canals, built monasteries, and encouraged science and learning. In the twelfth century, the greater part of Bengal was taken by force from the Pala kings by the Sena kings, and the power of the Palas was confined to the district of Southern Bihar and perhaps Benares. Even these remaining possessions were finally taken from them by Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khilji, who defeated Govindpala, the last king of the dynasty, in 1197. Thus ended the dynasty of the Palas.

The Sena Dynasty.—In the early days Bengal formed a part of the Magadha empire. Its first civilization was Buddhistic. But under Adisura, the first Hindu king of Bengal, Brahminism gained ground. By the end of the eleventh century Bengal was ruled by governors who belonged to the Brahmin family of the Senas. One of these, Vijayasena, made himself independent of the Palas, early in the twelfth century. His son and successor Vallalasena (Ballal) is the most famous ruler of the time. He was succeeded by Lakshmanasena who was a great king in the early

part of his long reign, but when he was eighty years of age his territories were invaded and conquered by Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khilji (1198). Lakshmanasena fled with his family to Vikrampur, where his descendants reigned for twenty years more.

Kingdom of Kanauj.—The country between the Jumna and the Ganges, known as the kingdom of the Panchalas in the epic age, had for its chief city Kanya-kubja, afterwards familiar as Kanauj. It was part of the empire of Harshavardhan in the seventh century. The next ruler of Kanauj of whom we have information is Yasovarman, who overran Magadha and Bengal. He was a patron of learning and attracted a number of famous poets to his court. He was conquered and put to death by the Kashmir king Lalitaditya Muktapida, about A. D. 740. About A. D. 816 we find the kingdom of Kanauj occupied by a Rajput clan, known as the Gurjaras (Parihars). Under a later descendant of this clan of chieftains, Mihira Bhoja (A. D. 840-90), the kingdom expanded. It included the countries now known as Rajputana, the United Provinces, part of the Punjab and Gwalior. The kings of Kanauj also exercised lordship over Kathiawar (Surashtra) and Malwa. In 1019 Mahmud of Ghazni invaded and captured Kanauj, and the then ruling king Rajyapala fled beyond the Ganges. Later on, about 1090, another clan of Rajputs, the Gaharwars occupied Kanauj till its capture by Muhammad Ghorī in 1194.

Kingdom of Kalanjar.—The Chandels, another Rajput clan, occupied in the ninth century the territory between the Jumna and the Narbudda, now known as Bundelkhand. Their chief towns were Mahoba and Kalanjar. They first seem to have paid tribute to the Emperor of Kanauj but soon became independent. Under their chief, Yasovarman, they seized Kalanjar, and were powerful enough to compel

the king of Kanauj to surrender a valuable image of Vishnu which the Chandel king wanted for a temple built by himself. Dhanga, the son of Yasovarman, adorned his kingdom with beautiful temples and ruled for half a century. His son, Ganda, joined the Hindu princes who under the leadership of Anandpal, Raja of the Punjab, fought with Mahmud of Ghazni in 1009. The last of these Chandel rulers was Parmal, who fought a great war with Prithvi, the Chauhan Raja of Delhi, by whom he was defeated in 1182. In 1203 Kutb-ud-din seized the fort of Kalanjar ; but it was again recovered by the Chandels. The Chandel Rajas lingered on as purely local chiefs until the sixteenth century when Sher Shah finally captured Kalanjar and brought the dynasty to an end.

Malwa.—Nothing is known of Malwa under the successors of Vikramaditya, except that it formed a part of Harshavardhan's empire in the seventh century. In the ninth century we find the Paramaras, a Rajput dynasty, ruling over Malwa. Upendra was the first Parmara king who established himself in Malwa. He made the city of Dhara his capital. Amongst the rulers of this dynasty, the most renowned was Raja Bhoja, who ruled from about A. D. 1018 to 1060. He was well known all over India as a learned man himself and a generous patron of learned men. The great lake of Bhojpur to the south-east of Bhopal, covering an area of 250 square miles, formed by embankments closing the outlets in a circle of hills, was built under his directions. He fought with the Chalukyas of the Deccan and the Chalukyas of Gujarat. The latter invaded his territories and occupied his capital, about 1060. His successors were feeble kings. In 1235 the Mohammedans under Altamsh invaded Malwa and took Ujjan and Bhilsa. But the Paramaras continued at Dhara. Malwa was annexed to the Pathan Empire in the reign of Ala-ud-din Khilji.

The Kingdom of Delhi and Ajmere.—In the early Hindu and Buddhist ages the plains of the Ganges and the Jumna formed part of the great kingdom of Magadha. It is only in the course of the eleventh century that we hear of the name Delhi. Legend however speaks of a king Dilu who founded the city of Delhi in the beginning of the Christian era. In the eighth century, we are told that a dynasty of Rajput princes known as the Tomaras ruled at Delhi. Delhi was conquered in 1151 by Visaladev, the Chauhan King of Ajmere. The last Tomara king was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Somesvar, the son of Visaladev, and it was agreed that Somesvar's son should succeed to the throne of Delhi. This son was the famous Prithvi Raja, who ruled the united kingdom of Delhi and Ajmere. He may be fairly described as the popular hero of Northern India; and his exploits in love and warfare are to this day sung in the land by wandering minstrels and in epic poems. One of his earliest exploits was the abduction of the princess of Kanauj, daughter of Jaichand, whom he carried off from the palace with a small but loyal band of companions, making his way through the masses of the enemy. He fought with Parmal, the Chandel Raja of Bundelkhand, and defeated him. He headed the Rajput league against the Mohammedans under Shahab-ud-din Ghori. He was successful at first, but was subsequently defeated at Tarain near Thanesvar in 1192. Both he and his son were slain in the battle, Ajmere was sacked and Delhi captured.

The Kingdom of Gujarat.—During the period of disorder following the death of Harshavardhan the kingdom of Valabhi, or modern Gujarat, was definitely separated from the Northern Empire by Dharasena IV. of the Valabhi dynasty. This dynasty was so called because it had its capital at Valabhi, the modern Wala, in Kathiawar. The Valabhi kingdom came to an end in the middle of the

eightth century. In 746 Banaraj founded the city of Anahilpattan, now known as Pattan. He was the first king of the Chavra or Chapotkata dynasty which ruled Gujarat for about two hundred years. The last king was killed by his sister's son, Mulraj, who belonged to the Solanki or Chalukya family from Kanauj. Mulraj became king of Gujarat and had a long and prosperous reign. The Chalukya Rajputs were a branch of the Gurjara tribe, and they gave their name to the country. Their chief city was Pattan. Under these Chalukyas of Anhilwar, as they are known, Gujarat rose to greatness owing largely to the wealth which flowed in through the seaports of Broach and Cambay. When Gujarat was invaded by Mahmud of Ghazni (A. D. 1024), the Raja Bhimdeva was unprepared and fled to the hills. Mahmud made himself master of Pattan and plundered the shrine of Somnath. On Mahmud's withdrawal Bhimdeva regained his kingdom, and extended his conquests on all sides. The two celebrated rulers of the Chalukya dynasty were Siddharaj and Kumarapal. The latter repelled an invasion of Muhammad Ghorī. His successors were weak. A branch of the family, known as the Vaghela Chalukyas, ruled a part of the country with the seat of Government at Dholka. In 1242 Visaldev, the fifth ruler of the line, attacked and drove out Tribhuvanamolla, the reigning prince of the elder branch and usurped the throne of Anhilwar (Pattan). Gujarat was annexed to the Pathan Empire in 1297 by one of Ala-ud-din's generals.

CHAPTER IX.

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN AND THE SOUTH.

The Early Chalukyas.—A. D. 550-753.—The Chalukya princes were of Rajput origin, though they ruled over a people who belong to the Dravidian stock. The Chalukyas migrated to the Deccan in the middle of the sixth century, under their chief Pulakesin I. who made himself master of the town of Vatapi, the modern Badami, in the Bijapur district, and founded a principality of moderate dimensions. His sons, Kirtivarman and Mangalesa, extended the possessions of the family. The former overthrew the Kadambi king of Banavasi and the latter the Rajputs of Chedi whose chief city was Tripura, near Jabalpure.

Pulakesin II.—Pulakesin II., who succeeded Mangalesa, was the most famous king of this dynasty. He was crowned in A. D. 609. For the space of twenty years he devoted himself to a career of aggression against all the neighbouring states. He is said, in an inscription, to have attacked and overcome the kings of Lata and Gurjara, that is Southern and Northern Gujarat, Malwa, and the Mauryas of the Konkan. He next attacked the Pallava kingdom of Vengi. He completely subdued it and made his younger brother, Vishnuvardhana, viceroy in A. D. 609. A few years later, taking advantage of Pulakesin's difficulties, this prince set himself up as an independent sovereign, and founded the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas. Harsha of Kanauj, hearing of these conquests, marched southwards to attack the Chalukya emperor, but he met with a severe defeat when

trying to cross the Narbudda, A. D. 620. It was now the turn of the southern kingdoms to feel the weight of the emperor's arms. The rulers of the Chola, Pandya, and Kerala kingdoms submitted in turn. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited his court in A. D. 641. He gives us an interesting description of the country. "The climate is hot. The people are honest and simple, tall and stern in nature. They help those in distress, but never forgive an injury. They warn an enemy before attacking him. They fight with spears. The king is a Kshatriya, and his subjects obey him with perfect submission." But his rule ended in darkness.

End of the Early Chalukyas.—In A. D. 642 the Pallavas of Kanchi, under their king Narasimha Varman, took and plundered Vatapi (Badami) and presumably put him to death. There was now a prolonged conflict between the successors of Pulakesin and Narasimha Varman, till the middle of the eighth century, when Dantidurga, a chieftain of the Rashtrakuta family, overthrew Kirtivarman II., the last of these Early Chalukyas, and the sovereignty of the Deccan passed to the Rashtrakutas. During the rule of these Early Chalukyas Buddhism gradually declined, giving way to its rivals Jainism and Brahminical Hinduism. The Puranic forms of worship became popular, and everywhere temples were erected for the worship of Vishnu, Shiva and other members of the Puranic pantheon.

The Rashtrakutas.—753–973.—The Rashtrakutas were a powerful tribe of Kshatriyas in the Deccan, where they gave their name to the country which they occupied—Maharashtra. We have the names of twelve Rashtrakuta kings who were lords of the Deccan from A. D. 753 to 973. Dantidurga, after his occupation of Vatapi, effected other conquests; but he was subsequently deposed by his uncle Krishna I., who completed the establishment of the supremacy of his family over the territories once held by the

Chalukyas. A striking witness of the power and wealth of this king is the splendid temple of Kailasa at Ellora, built by him for the worship of Shiva. Krishna I. was succeeded by his son Govinda II. whose reign was very short. He was followed by Dhruva, a warlike prince, who humbled the Pallava king of Kanchi in the South and the Raja of the Vatsas in the North. Govinda III. (793-815), the son of Dhruva, was the most remarkable of his dynasty. He extended his power from the Vindhya mountains and Malwa in the north to Kanchi in the south. Govinda was followed by Amoghavarsha who ruled for sixty-two years (815-877). He transferred his capital from Nasik to Manyakheta, sometimes identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions. The next ruler of importance was Krishna III. who claims to have occupied Kanchi and destroyed Tanjore after a battle with the Chola king Rajaditya, in A. D. 949. The last of the Rashtrakutas, Kakka II., was overthrown in 973 by Taila or Tailapa II., a Chalukya chieftain, who founded the dynasty of the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

The Later Chalukyas of Kalyani.—973-1190.—The second Chalukya dynasty with its capital at Kalyani (in Hyderabad), rose to great eminence and power. Several of its king assumed the title of Vikramaditya ('Sun of prowess'). The most famous of these was Vikramaditya VI., the hero of a historical poem by Bilhana, a native of Kashmir. He came to the throne in 1076 and ruled for half a century. He is said to have captured Kanchi, and late in his reign was engaged in a war with Vishnu, the Hoysala king of Dvarasamudra in Mysore. After the death of Vikramaditya in 1126, there was a succession of two or three weak rulers. Bijjala, a scion of the Chedi dynasty, dethroned Tailapa III. in 1157 and made himself master of Kalyani. Bijjala was assassinated by his minister, Basava, who founded a new sect called the Lingayats. The kingdom of the Chalukyas was finally absorbed by the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra.

The Hoysalas.—1048–1310.—The Hoysalas held northern Mysore as feudatories of the Chalukyas. We are told how in a village of Mysore there was a temple situated in a forest, how this forest was hunted by a tiger which had killed a number of people, how one day a young chieftain named Sala went to the temple, and how the tiger sprang out of the forest as he was worshipping the goddess. The priest who was attending gave him a rod and cried out, “Hoy, Sala !” in Kanarese—“Strike, O Sala !” The chieftain killed the tiger and henceforward adopted the name of Hoysala. In 1173 a Hoysala chief, Ballala II., assumed independence, and succeeded in 1190 in overthrowing the last ruler of the Chalukya dynasty. The Hoysala capital was at Dvarasamudra, the modern Halebid, famous for its temple, with its beautiful stone carving. Later on a struggle ensued between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas of Devagiri which resulted in the victory of the latter. The Hoysalas, however, continued to reign as feudatories till their power was shattered by the Mohammedans in 1310.

The Yadavas of Devagiri.—1190–1309.—The Yadavas were a Rajput clan who are said to have migrated from Mathura into the Deccan in the ninth century. Their chief town was Seuna, now Sinar, in the Nasik district. To the end of the twelfth century they lived as feudatories of the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta dynasties. About 1190 under King Bhillama they rose to power and conquered Kalyani. Bhillama extended the boundaries of his kingdom and removed his capital to Devagiri. After a struggle with the Hoysalas which lasted for three generations they established their supremacy over the whole of the Deccan. Their descendants ruled down to the beginning of the fourteenth century when their territories were absorbed by the Mohammedans.

The Pallavas.—The Pallavas are said to be Pahlavas or Parthians by some writers—a foreign Scythian clan,

who wandered into Southern India. They settled in the country between the Godavari and Kaveri rivers with capitals at Kanchi (Conjeevaram), Vengi and Palakkada or Palghat. They became thoroughly Hinduised with time and on the decline of the Gupta Empire formed an independent kingdom.

The first Pallava king about whom anything is known was Sivaskanda Varman, who lived in the second century A. D. with his capital at Kanchi. He exercised supremacy over a considerable number of subordinate Rajas. We next hear of the Pallavas two centuries later, when we are told of eleven kings of the South defeated by Samudra Gupta. Amongst these we find Vishnugopa of Kanchi, Ugrasena of Palakka and Hasti Varman (Attivarma) of Vengi. The Pallava dominion was widely extended during the reign of Simha Vishnu, who is said to have defeated the king of Ceylon, as well as the Chola, Pandya and Kerala Rajas. The Chalukya Pulakesin II. defeated Mahendra Varman, the successor of Simha Vishnu, about A. D. 609 or 610. The Pallava province of Vengi was annexed by the Chalukya king. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang visited Kanchi in 640 during the reign of Mahendra's successor, Narasimha Varman I. He describes the Pallava country as about a thousand miles in circuit. In the realm of Kanchi he found some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries. The war between Pallavas and Chalukyas, commenced by Pulakesin II. was prolonged over a century. About 740 the early Chalukya king, Vikramaditya II., invaded the Pallava territory and captured Kanchi. The Rashtrakutas, who supplanted the Chalukyas in the middle of the eighth century, took up the quarrel with the Pallavas. Finally the Chola king, Rajaraja the Great, reduced to subjection all the kingdoms of Southern India. He annexed Vengi in 996 and put an end to the independent power of the Pallavas. In religion the Pallavas were mostly orthodox Hindus.

The celebrated rock-cut temple at Mahabalipuram, near Madras, commonly known as the Seven Pagodas, was built under the orders of the Pallavas during the sixth and seventh centuries.

The Chola Kingdom.—India to the south of the Krishna river was from ancient times the seat of three kingdoms, *viz.*, Chola, Chera and Pandya. In the second century we find the Pallava clans disputing the lordship of the Chola country, which extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Pudukottai. Hiuen Tsang, in the seventh century, mentions the country as a restricted territory about four hundred miles in circuit. In the beginning of the tenth century (A. D. 907) an able Chola king, Parantaka I., extended his power into the Pallava dominions, and is alleged to have carried his victorious arms even to Ceylon. He died in A. D. 949, and was followed by some unimportant rulers. In 985 Rajaraja the Great ascended the throne and during a reign of twenty-eight years brought under his sway all the small kingdoms of the South. He ruled over an empire which included nearly the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon, and a large part of Mysore. He conquered the Eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengi, formerly held by the Pallavas, Coorg, Quilon on the Malabar Coast, and the northern kingdom of Kalinga as well as Ceylon. Rajaraja had also a powerful navy. He built a magnificent temple at his capital, Tanjore, the walls of which are engraved with the story of his exploits. Rajendra Choladeva I., his successor, carried his arms even into Orissa and Bengal. Rajendra Chola II., the grandson of his namesake, combined in his own person the Chola and the Eastern Chalukya lines of the kings. In the thirteenth century the Pandya kings of Madura reduced the Chola Rajas to a position of inferiority, and they were further weakened by the Mohammedan invasion under Malik Kafur in 1310.

The Pandya Kingdom.—The Pandya country extended north and south from Pudukottai to Cape Comorin, and was co-extensive with the present districts of Madura and Tinneveli. The kingdom was divided into five principalities. The capital of the chief of these was at Korkai, a seaport, the head quarters of the pearl trade. Madura is also considered by some to have been one of the chief seats of the Pandyas. The pearl fisheries of the Pandya kingdom were well known to the Greeks and Romans. Roman copper coins have been found in large numbers at Madura and bear witness to commercial relations between Rome and India in the days of the Roman Empire. In the second half of the ninth century the Pandyas attacked Ceylon, and after defeating the Singhalese monarch sacked the city of Anuradhapura. A few years later the Singhalese king Sena II. invaded the Pandya country and captured and plundered Madura. A later king of Ceylon is said to have sent an army to assist a Pandya king, probably Rajasimha, after his defeat by the Chola Parantaka I. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, along with the other south Indian states, the kingdom of the Pandyas passed into the hands of the Mohammedans.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER X.

MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS OF INDIA.

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI.

Amir Sabuktigin.—Amongst the conquests made by the Arabs under the successors of the prophet of Islam may be mentioned the territory known to us under the classical name of Transoxiana, inhabited mostly by Persians. In the tenth century it was ruled by a dynasty of Turkish chiefs known as the Samanis. Alptigin, the founder of the house of Ghazni, was originally a Turkish slave in the service of one of the Samani chiefs. He rose to be governor of Khorasan, but losing favour subsequently he established himself at Ghazni, in the Afghan mountains, with a body of faithful followers. He was succeeded by Sabuktigin who had been once a Turkish slave, but had risen gradually to be his master's son-in-law and heir. Sabuktigin was the first Moslem who attempted to invade India from the north-west. The inhabitants on the left bank of the Indus were alarmed at the establishment of a new Mohammedan kingdom on their frontiers and combined under the Hindu Raja, Jaypal of Lahore, in an aggressive war against Sabuktigin. Jaypal, however, was defeated and had to submit to the payment of a tribute. A new coalition of the Hindus, including the kings of Ajmere, Kalanjar and Kanauj, met with the same fate. The battle of Laghman in A. D. 989 or 990 established and confirmed the Ghaznavite power in India, inasmuch as it led to the annexation of Peshawar to that kingdom.

Mahmud of Ghazni. His early Invasions.—Sabuktigin died in A. D. 997, and was succeeded by his son Mahmud who had all his father's energy joined to a restless activity and a devouring ambition. He was a staunch and loyal Moslem, eager to spread the faith by conquest. He spent the first two years of his reign in restoring order in his own kingdom. His father's victories against the Hindus had proved with what ease the latter could be defeated by the vigorous onset of his mountaineers; and he now turned his attention to these infidels. His first attack was directed against the frontier province; he marched to Peshawar and prepared to cross the Indus when Jaypal, the old enemy of his father, confronted him with a large army (A. D. 1001). But there was no resisting the onset of Mahmud's forces; the Rajput armies were scattered, and Mahmud marched through the Punjab, plundering and destroying. Jaypal was taken captive, but was released on the promise of a tribute. He subsequently committed suicide, leaving the throne to his son, Anangpal, who now undertook the work of defending the frontiers of India. The second expedition of Mahmud was undertaken to punish a refractory Hindu chieftain who had refused to pay his share of the tribute; and the third to reduce an Afghan chief of Multan who had renounced his allegiance and had formed an alliance with Anangpal.

Once more in A. D. 1008 Mahmud invaded India. He found all the Rajas of the Punjab, with Anangpal at their head and with allies from other parts of India, gathered to receive him in battle. We are told how Hindu women sold their ornaments to help in the war. At Bathindah Mahmud's forces were saved from a disastrous defeat by one of those lucky accidents which often determine the course of events. Anangpal's elephant took fright; it was rumoured that the Raja had fled from the field and a victorious army was soon turned into a routed horde. Mahmud followed up his

victory by the capture of Kangra (Nagarkot) with its vast treasures.

Later Invasions.—Year after year Mahmud now swept over the plains of India. The country was split up into a number of a small and large kingdoms, some of them at bitter enmity with each other. The Rajas who might, united, have stemmed any invasion, allowed their jealousies free play, and made it easy for the foreigner, backed by hardy mountaineers, to carry everything before him. The year 1018 saw Mahmud marching from Peshawar to Kanauj, and thence to Mathura, plundering and destroying, satisfying at the same time the greed and the fanaticism of his followers. The expedition of 1023 is deserving of notice, because during it a Mohammedan garrison was for the first time permanently planted beyond the Indus. Jaypal II. of Lahore, the successor of Anangpal, had been living for some time on friendly terms with Mahmud ; but ultimately threw off his allegiance. All his territories were accordingly annexed to Ghazni and a garrison left at Lahore to secure the annexation.

The Destruction of Somnath, 1024.—Mahmud now undertook his last expedition which has made more noise than any of the rest. Its goal was Somnath, one of the most celebrated seats of Hindu pilgrimage, situated near the shore of the Arabian Sea, in the district of Gujarat. Mahmud passed from Ghazni to Multan, thence to Ajmere which he captured and entered Gujarat. After a hard fought battle Mahmud entered the city of Somnath, plundered its famous temple, served by a thousand Brahmins and adorned with precious stones and gems. The huge *linga* stone inside the temple was broken and the fragments carried away. According to tradition the gates of the temple were also carried to Ghazni ; but the silence of the historian Ferishta on this point throws doubt on the authenticity of the story. But

the tradition was so firmly believed that when the British army left Kabul in 1842 they brought back with them these gates supposed to have been placed on Mahmud's tomb. On his way back the Jats of Rajputana harassed his army and forced him to turn aside and travel across deserts where his troops died of thirst and exposure. His final expedition was undertaken to punish these people. During the latter part of his life Mahmud had great trouble with the Tartars on the western border of his empire. He died in A. D. 1030.

Mahmud's Character and Administration.—

Avarice is said to have been one of the ruling passions of Mahmud; and avarice is said to be incompatible with greatness: but Mahmud was undoubtedly possessed of many of the qualities which have made other sovereigns great. About his avarice there is an anecdote in the Persian poet Sa'di's *Gulistan* in which it is related how a certain king of Khorasan dreamt that he saw Mahmud a hundred years after his death, with his eyes rolling in their sockets, as if seeking the wealth that had vanished, whilst his body had crumbled to dust. But his avarice was overshadowed by his munificence and liberality, by his ability as a warrior and as a conqueror. He founded a University at Ghazni, which he endowed with a great library of books in various languages, with a museum of natural curiosities, with salaried professors, and with stipendiary scholars. He built also a splendid mosque in marble and granite, furnished with gold and silver lamps and ornaments. Though Mahmud was a warrior, he was not great as a statesman. He left no laws or institutions, or the traditions of wise government behind him; whilst he lived there was peace and order in his vast dominions, but with his death the empire that he had welded together in his own crude way fell to pieces.

Firdausi.—Mahmud was a liberal patron of literature and art, and attracted to his court the most distinguished writers of the day. Firdausi, the celebrated Persian poet, was engaged by him to write the poem familiar to later ages as the *Shahnama*. The poem thus written was full of the great deeds of the old Persian heroes, overflowing with miraculous legends about their prowess; but it had little to say about the founder of Islam or the Koran; and Mahmud was so enraged as to pay to the poet in silver the weight which he had promised in gold. Firdausi is said to have died of a broken heart, just at the time when the relenting mood of the sovereign induced him to send the gold that he had originally promised.

Mahmud's Successors.—1030–1186.—The death of Mahmud not only removed from the empire a brave and capable ruler but coincided with the growth of a formidable enemy in the shape of the Seljuk Tartars, who invaded his dominions in the reign of his son Musaoood.

The Seljuks were led by the celebrated warrior Toghrul Beg, who defeated Musaoood's armies near Merv. In 1042 Musaoood returned to India; but his own guards mutinied against him, and he was subsequently done to death. Modood, son of Musaoood, who succeeded him, had married Toghrul Beg's grand daughter, and the Seljuk arms left Ghazni free from molestation for a time. In India, however, the Raja of Delhi recovered Nagarkot and overran a great part of the Punjab; and encouraged by these successes an army of 80,000 Hindus endeavoured to capture Lahore in 1043. But Lahore defended itself, and the Punjab remained a Moslem province, the last refuge of Mahmud's descendants. The descendants of Modood dwelt in their mountain city with gradually declining power: subsequently it was Lahore and the Punjab that became the seat of the Ghaznavite power.

The force that destroyed the Ghaznavites came neither from the east nor from the west; it grew up in their very midst. The territory of Ghor, between Ghazni and Herat, is regarded by the Afghans as their original home. Mahmud had conquered Ghor, but its princes were allowed to live on terms of equality with the rulers of Ghazni. In spite of intermarriages between the two houses a feud broke out between them in which two brothers of the Sur dynasty (the chiefs of Ghor) were slain by the king of Ghazni. In 1150 Ala-ud-din Husain, a third brother of the same family, set out on an errand of revenge, destroyed Ghazni, driving away the Ghaznavite monarch, Behram, who died of a broken heart on his way to Lahore. Thus ended the rule of the Ghaznavite dynasty.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GHORI AND THE SLAVE DYNASTIES.

Ala-ud-din Jahan Soz.—1152–1156.—The kingdom of Ghor was growing in power as the rival kingdom of Ghazni was declining. Ala-ud-din, after he had wreaked his vengeance on Behram for the death of his brothers, proclaimed himself king of Ghazni. He was known as Jahan Soz, or world-burner, because when Ghazni fell into his hands he had given up the city to fire and slaughter for seven days. He was content to rule his clan in Ghor and died after a reign of four years.

Muhammad Ghor.—1157–1205.—Ala-ud-din was succeeded by his son who was assassinated within a year of his accession to the throne. The latter was followed on the throne by his cousins Ghiyas-ud-din who superintended the territories in the west with his seat in Ghor, and Shahab-ud-din, who gave his attention to the east, with his seat of rule at Ghazni. Shahab-ud-din, better known as Muhammad Ghor, began his career with an attempt to bring the Moslem provinces of India under his sway. He captured Multan in 1175; and three years later he undertook an expedition to Gujarat. He then overran Sindh, and attacked Khusru Malik, the last of the Ghaznavites, who purchased peace by giving his son as a hostage and offering presents to the invader. But this peace was short-lived. Muhammad again invaded India in 1179–80, captured Lahore and put to death Khusru Malik and his family. Left without a rival the Ghor chieftain now determined to extend his conquests. At this time Northern

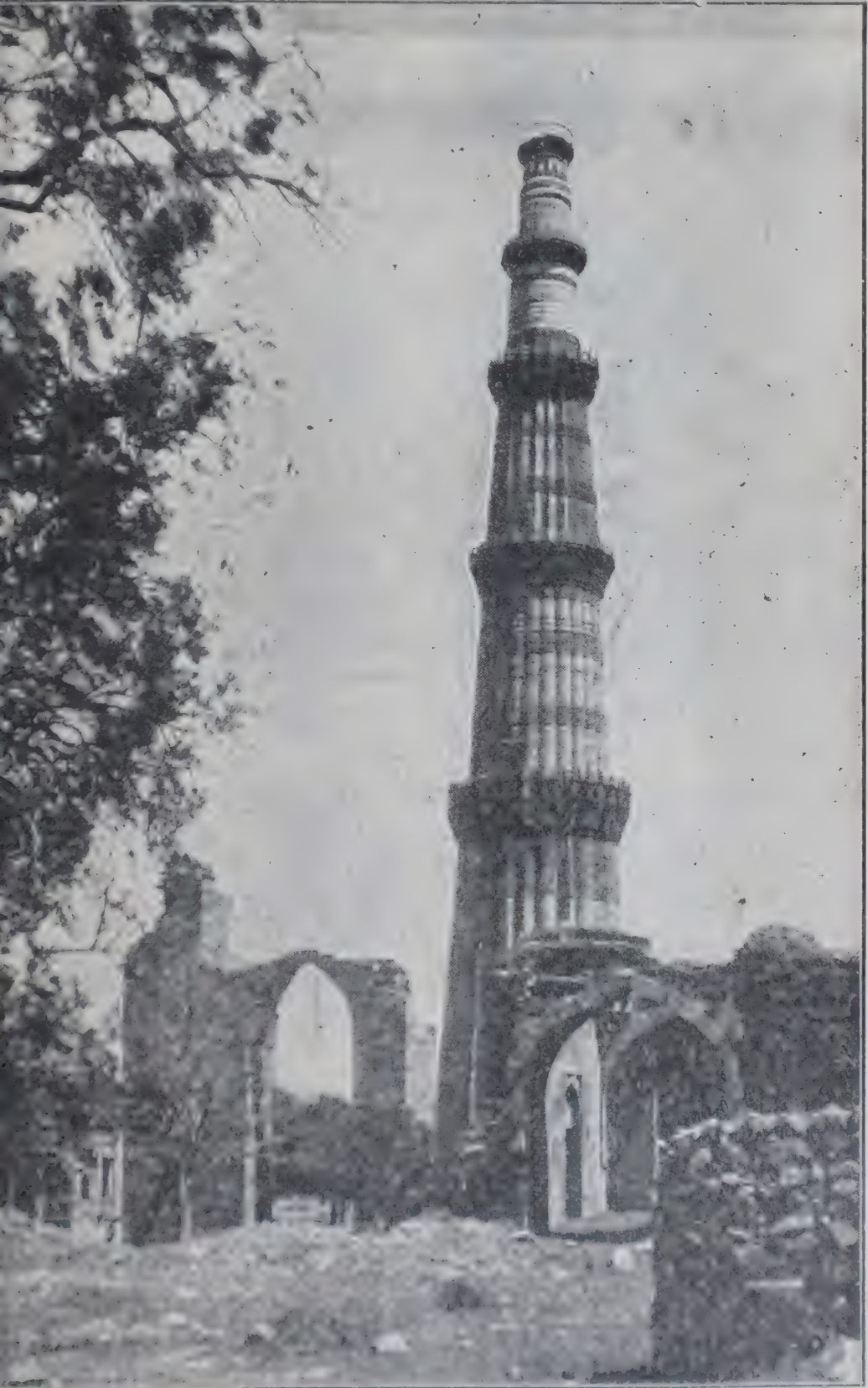
India was ruled over by a number of Rajput clans, the chief of which were the Chauhans of Ajmere, the Tomaras of Delhi, and the Gharwars of Kanauj. But there was a feud between Raja Jaichand of Kanauj and Prithvi Raj Chauhan of Ajmere and Delhi ; so that when Muhammad Ghor invaded India in 1191, he found the Rajputs divided amongst themselves. The Hindus, however, led by Raja Prithvi Raj, met Muhammad Ghor at Tarain, fourteen miles from Thanesvar, and utterly defeated him. Next year Muhammad again set out with an army of picked men. He met the Hindus on the same battle-field and gained over them a complete victory. The gallant Prithvi Raj was captured and put to death. Delhi and Ajmere now fell into the hands of the conqueror. In 1194 Raja Jaichand, who had held aloof, was also defeated and his kingdom wrested from him. Two years later Gwalior surrendered to the Muslim arms. Muhammad on his return to Ghazni found that his brother Ghiyas-ud-din had died ; and he was crowned without opposition (1203). In 1206 he was assassinated by a band of Gakhars, wild Scythians of the north-west frontier of India, whom he had reduced to subjection a few years before.

Character of Muhammad Ghor.—Muhammad Ghor, when he is compared with his illustrious Ghaznavite predecessor, Mahmud Ghazni, falls into the shade in a sense. He was not a patron of letters, and no poets or historians were drawn to his court to sing his praises and record his deeds. Yet his conquests in India were wider and of a more permanent character. Much had yet to be done before the Moslem rule in India could be finally established in the country ; but what he conquered he kept ; and the viceroy whom he left behind founded the famous Slave Dynasty. After his death the Ghor dynasty relapsed into the position of a minor chieftainship, while their Indian possessions passed into other hands.

The Slave Kings.—1206-1290.—Kutb-ud-din.—

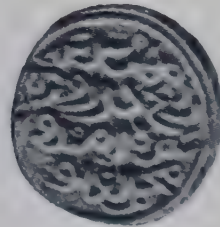
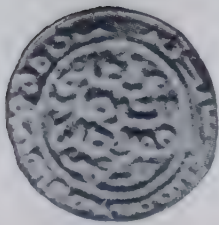
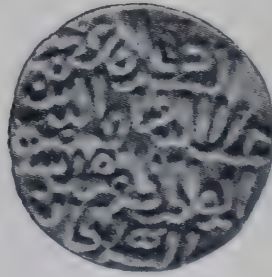
Kutb-ud-din Eibuk was brought to Nishapoor as a slave where he was purchased by a wealthy merchant and subsequently passed into the hands of Muhammad Ghori. He rose into great confidence with his master and his fidelity and military talents made him rise to be a general and ultimately the Viceroy of India. He had led the assault on Hansi, Meerut, and Delhi in 1193, conquered Benares in 1194, and humbled the pride of Gwalior in 1196. In the following year he had marched into Gujarat and won a glorious battle at Anhilwara. In 1203 he had captured Kalanjar and turned its temples into mosques. On the assassination of his master in 1206 he became the ruler of the Moslem dominions in India and ruled for about five years. He married the daughter of Eldooz, the ruler of Ghazni, and gave his daughter in marriage to Altamsh, a slave, whose talents had made him a favourite with his master. A chronicler of this time, Hasan Nizam, remarks that the viceroy administered his wide provinces "in the ways of justice," and "the people were happy." His impartiality is extolled in the phrase that "the wolf and the sheep drank water out of the same pond." "The roads were freed from robbers, and the Hindus both high and low were treated with royal benignity." At Delhi he built the great mosque, the Juma Masjid, and the famous minaret known as the Kutb Minar, 250 feet high, the tallest minaret in the world. He died in 1210 from the effects of a fall from his horse, having ruled as Sultan for four years.

Altamsh.—On his death his son Aram ascended the throne : but he was feeble and irresolute, and Sindh, Bengal, and other districts fell away from him, and became independent. At this juncture Shams-ud-din Altamsh, the slave and son-in-law of Kutb-ud-din, defeated Aram, with the help of a number of nobles, and assumed the sovereignty of Delhi for himself. "No king," according to a contemporary



KUTB MINAR.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.



1. INDIAN BILLON CURRENCY OF MAHOMED
2. SILVER COIN OF ILTUTMISH.
3. GOLD COIN OF BALBAN.
4. GOLD COIN OF ALA-UD-DIN.
5. BRASS MONEY OF MAHOMED TUGHLAK.

chronicler, "so benevolent, sympathetic, reverent to the learned and the old, ever rose by his own efforts to the cradle of empire." After his accession to the throne Altamsh defeated the king of Ghazni who made an effort to recover his Indian dominions and advanced to Delhi. It was during his reign that Chinghiz Khan, 'the scourge of God,' the ruler of Tartary and the leader of countless Mongolian hordes, swept over Persia and Afghanistan and penetrated as far as Ghazni and reached the borders of Sindh. India had a narrow escape. Altamsh invaded northern Sindh and annexed it in 1217. Malwa in 1226 and Gwalior in 1231 passed into his hands. He ultimately re-established Moslem authority in the province of Bengal and captured Ujjain, the oldest and one of the most famous Hindu cities of India. At the time of his death in 1236 he has established Mohammedan sovereignty over the whole of Northern India, from the Indus to the Ganges.

Raziyah.—Rukn-ud-din, the son and successor of Altamsh was indolent; he was too effeminate to support the cares of government which consequently devolved on his mother. A rebellion broke out and Rukn-ud-din was deposed, and Sultana Raziyah, his sister, was chosen in his place. She was already familiar with the art of government, for her father in his absence always entrusted her with the administration of affairs. Ferishtah writes about her: "Raziyah Begum was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinise her actions most seriously will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." She sat on the throne for about three years and a half. She gave public audiences, sat in the royal seat, and transacted all business. She showed a strong favour for her master of the horse whom, though formerly an Abyssinian slave, she raised to a position above the nobility by making him commander-in-chief. The Afghan nobles, 'khans' as they were styled, were not likely to endure the insult of seeing an Abyssinian

set over them. They rose in rebellion, and though at first the Queen was victorious, she was finally taken prisoner by a Turkish chief Altunya in 1240. But by her charms she so prevailed upon Altunya that he fell in love with her, married her and attempted to restore her to the throne. She set out for Delhi at the head of an army, fought two battles, lost them, and was taken prisoner with her husband. Both Raziyah and her husband were put to death.

Nasir-ud-din.—The Mongol Invasions.—When Raziyah was deposed her brother Moiz-ud-din Behram was placed on the throne. The two years of his reign were years of plots and treacherous executions and murders, and he was imprisoned and put to death by his army. Masaud, a nephew of Raziyah, who followed him, spent his days in pleasures. The Mongols overran the Punjab, massacred the inhabitants of Lahore in 1241, and settled on the Indus. Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, after an interval, was raised to the throne in 1246. He was the youngest son of Altamsh, and had been nominated when young to the government of Bengal by his father. He was of retired habits, and freed himself of the cares of Government by devolving them on his vizier Ghiyas-ud-din Balban. The early part of his reign was spent in putting down disturbances in Multan and in the Punjab. Between 1247 and 1250 he also acquired territories between Malwa and the Jumna and in Rajputana. In 1259 Balban succeeded with difficulty in putting down a rebellion of the Rajputs of Meerut. In the same year an ambassador arrived at Delhi from the Mongols, and was entertained with great honour and splendour. Nasir-ud-din died in 1266 after a reign of twenty years. He was better adapted, both by nature and habit, for a private than for a public station. Of his parsimonious habits we have a curious account by Ferishtah: "He had but one wife whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery. When she complained one day that she had burnt her fingers in

baking his bread and desired he would allow a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, saying that he was only a trustee for the State, and was determined not to burden it with needless expenses. He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her on the day of judgment."

Balban.—Ghiyas-ud-din Balban who had long been the virtual, became the actual sovereign, on his master's death. Originally a Turkish slave of Altamsh, he had risen to be the vizier of Nasir-ud-din whom he served for twenty years of rebellion, conspiracy and the terrors of Mongol advance. While his royal master led the life of a dervish, copied Korans to satisfy his daily wants, and lived with a wife who cooked his dinner, Balban, took up the cares of kingship, organised the frontier provinces against Mongol attacks and suppressed Hindu rebellions in all parts of the kingdom. When he became sultan in 1266 he began with suppressing rebellions amongst the Rajputs. The most formidable rebellion during his reign was that of Toghrul Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, in 1279. The latter twice defeated the armies sent against him. At last Balban proceeded in person to Bengal, and surprised the camp of Toghrul who was ultimately slain. The rebels were severely punished and peace restored in the country. The Mongols meanwhile invaded Multan, and in a chance fray Prince Mahomed, the first born of Balban, lost his life. The death of his beloved son was too much for the old man; he died in 1286. He had a high reputation for justice and wisdom: he was liberal rewarder of merit, and a stern corrector of crime. He was a patron of literature, and many distinguished writers flocked to his court, the most notable of whom was Amir Khusru the poet. His public ceremonies and processions were the most magnificent of his days.

The end of the Slave Dynasty.—On the death of Balban his grandson Kaikobad, a handsome and engaging

youth, became emperor. He was mild in temper and of a literary taste. But he gave himself up to a life of sensual pleasures, encouraged by his minister Nizam-ud-din. An invasion of the Mongols was followed by the execution of all the Mongol officers in the royal service, on the suspicion of their complicity with their countrymen. His father Kurra Khan remonstrated in vain against the follies of his son. His excesses so ruined his constitution that he became paralytic, and was soon after murdered by a Tartar at the instigation of Jalal-ud-din Firoz of the Khilji tribe. Thus ended the Slave Dynasty (1290).

CHAPTER XII.

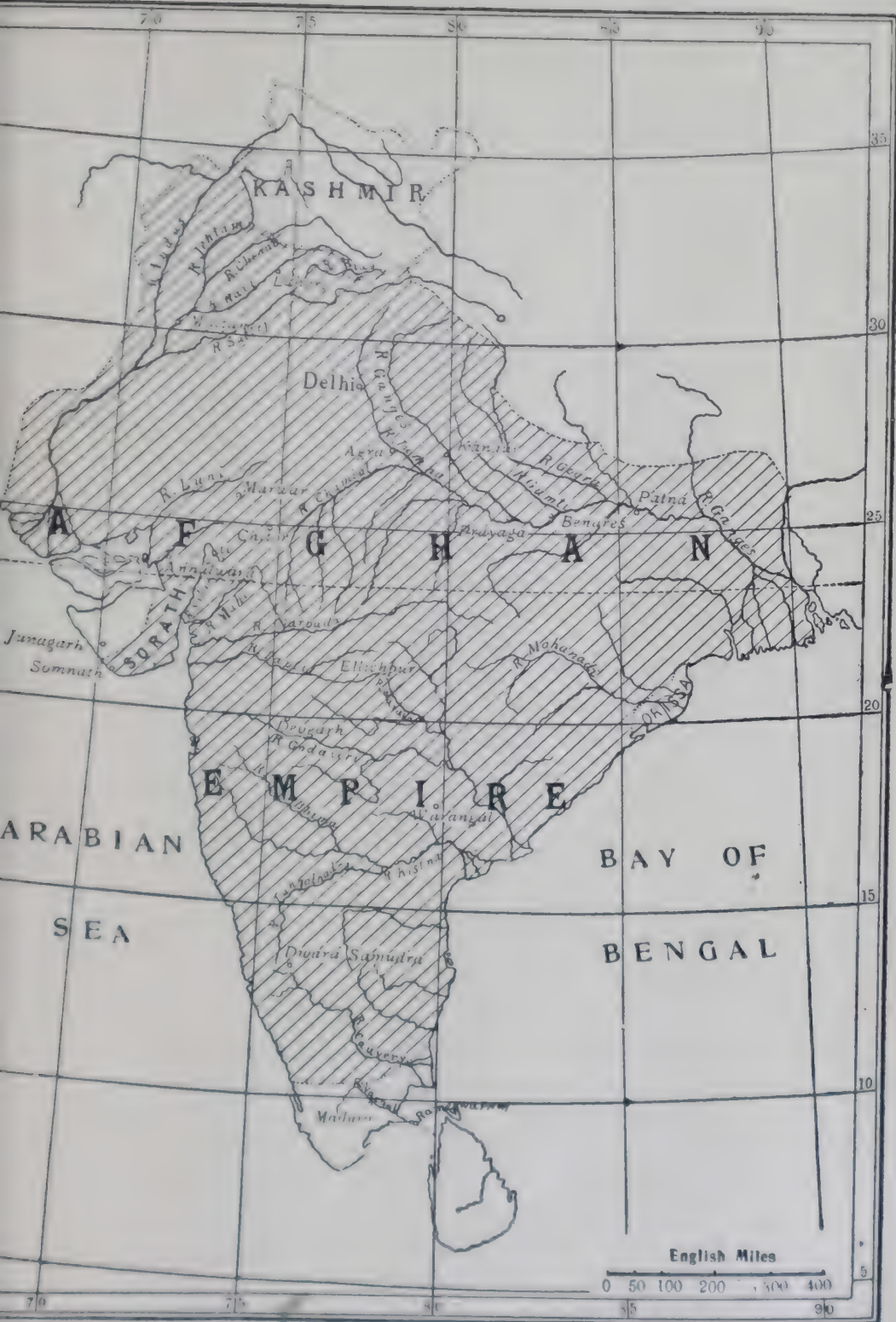
THE KHILJI AND THE TUGHLAK DYNASTIES.

1290-1413.

Jalal-ud-din Khilji.—1290-1296.—The throne of Delhi now passed from the Turkish nobles in the hands of the Afghans. The Afghans were also sometimes known as Pathans, a term loosely used, like the terms Moghul (Mongol) in later times to describe the white men from the north-west mountains. The clan of Khiljis or Khaljis, named after the Afghan village of Khalj, had conquered Bengal and ruled there, while many of them held posts in other parts. Jalal-ud-din was already seventy years old when he became king. He professed humility, and either remorse or policy induced him to become humane. He patronised literature, and poets and musicians flocked to Delhi, chief amongst whom was Amir Khusru. His mildness and clemency led, however, to an increase in crimes of all kinds, and many of the provincial governors rose in rebellion. The only harsh sentence that he passed was that of the execution of Sidi Maula, a derwish, for having plotted against his life. In 1292 Jalal-ud-din repelled an invasion of the Mongols. Ferishtah mentions incidentally that these Mongols became Mohammedans, which shows that Islam had not yet spread to the provinces of Northern Asia. In 1294 Ala-ud-din, the king's nephew, governor of Karra and also of Oudh, undertook an expedition into the Deccan. It was directed against Ram Deo, the Yadava Raja of Deogiri, credited with the possession of immense

wealth. The Raja was defeated and retreated within the walls of Deogiri. A first agreement for ransom was interrupted by the Raja's son, Shunkul Deo, who arrived with a large army and offered battle to Ala-ud-din. He was defeated and terms were arranged by which Ala-ud-din obtained the cession of Elichpur and its dependencies, and retired with an immense ransom. Ala-ud-din on arriving at Karra induced his old uncle to pay him a visit, and as Jalal-ud-din was stooping and embracing his nephew, the latter gave a signal to his soldiers and one of the basest murders in history was accomplished.

Ala-ud-din Khilji.—1296–1316.—When the news of Jalal-ud-din's murder reached Delhi the queen-dowager placed her youngest son, a mere boy, on the throne. The real heir was Arkully Khan, governor of Multan, and the elder brother of the boy. He declined to claim the throne, and Ala-ud-din, whose object at first had been to establish an independent kingdom in Oudh, now marched to Delhi. The queen-mother and her son fled to Multan, and Ala-ud-din was crowned emperor. He despatched a force to Multan, under his brother Alluf Khan. The two sons of the late king were betrayed into the hands of Alluf Khan; they were deprived of sight and shortly after assassinated. Ala-ud-din next repelled a Mongol invasion, after a bloody victory on the plains of Lahore. An expedition into Gujarat resulted in the capture of Anhilwara, and of the family and treasure of the Raja, Rai Kurrun. Cambay also yielded a large ransom, and Ala-ud-din married one of the captive wives of the Raja of Gujarat. Soon after this a fresh invasion of the Mongols threatened the kingdom with destruction. They arrived close to Delhi, but were defeated in a pitched battle, and evacuated India. Elated by success the Khilji monarch thought of becoming the founder of a new religion, and of imitating Alexander and conquering



AFGHAN EMPIRE UNDER ALA-UD-DIN.

the world. He adopted a more practicable course of action when in 1301 he captured the fort of Ranthambhor in the Jeypore territories, and in 1303 the fort of Chitor. His precautions and preparations prevented the Mongols from acquiring any foothold in India in spite of repeated invasions. In 1307 Ala-ud-din despatched Malik Kafur with an army against Ram Deo, Raja of Deogiri in the Deccan. This was followed up in 1310 by an expedition to Warangal (now in the Nizam's dominions) which was taken by assault. Next year Malik Kafur proceeded further south, to reduce the Hindu Raja of Dvarasamudra in the Carnatic. He took the Raja's capital, built a mosque at Rameswaram, the most southerly point of the Indian mainland, and returned to Delhi with immense plunder. These campaigns in the South did not establish any Mohammedan kingdom there but they served to weaken the Hindu Rajas, and opened the way to Moslem adventurers, by whom such kingdoms were founded a little later. Ala-ud-din died in 1316, at a critical moment, when Gujarat was defying the Moslem generals, when the Rajputs of Chitor resumed their independence, when the son-in-law of Ram Deo was stirring up the Deccan against the Moslem rule.

Character and Administration.—Ala-ud-din was illiterate and arrogant; but he knew how to command an army and carry it through an arduous campaign. His presumption increased with his age, and to such a pitch that every word that he uttered was considered irrevocable. His rule was despotic, and he was cruel and tyrannical. A chronicler observes: "He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of." Yet his foreign conquests were among the greatest made in India, and his internal administration was equally successful. Quiet and security prevailed, and wealth increased, as manifested by the construction of public and private buildings. Among the many

measures of his reign we may notice the following : (1) With a view to economy, he desired to reduce the pay of his troops : but as this would have been unjust unless the expense of living was also lowered, he fixed the prices of a number of articles of every day use, like grain, horses, oxen, camels, cows, sheep, goats, ghee, salt, sugar, onions and garlic. (2) With a view to putting an end to conspiracies, he organised a system of espionage. No one could stir without his knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of nobles, great men, and officials, was communicated to the Sultan by his reporter. (3) He prohibited the use of wine and other intoxicating drugs as well as dices. Those who were found drinking clandestinely were thrown into pits, where they perished miserably. (4) Still further to discourage conspiracy the Sultan ordered that noblemen should not visit at one another's houses, or hold meetings. They were forbidden to form alliances without consent from the throne. (5) Besides these measures, the Sultan devised others, specially against his Hindu subjects. The Hindu was to be so reduced as to be left unable to keep a horse to ride on, to carry arms, or to enjoy any of the luxuries of life. He was taxed to the extent of half the produce of his land.

Fall of the Khilji Dynasty.—On the death of Ala-ud-din a minor son of his was placed on the throne by Malik Kafur who acted as his guardian. But Kafur was murdered, and Mubarak, the third son of Ala-ud-din, ascended the throne. He blinded his brother, murdered the officers who had helped him and disbanded his army. He made a low caste Hindu, who had embraced the faith of Islam, his minister, and everybody's life and property were at his mercy.

Mubarak now gave himself up to a life of pleasure. His favourite Khusru Khan marched to the Deccan, conquered the Malabar Coast, and on his return put to death Mubarak as well as other members of Ala-ud-din's family. He then

seized the throne. There followed four months of horror and cruelty alike for Hindus and Moslems. This period of misrule was ended by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, the governor of the Punjab, who led an army against Delhi, sacked it, murdered Khusru and became king and founder of the house of Tughlak.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak.—1321–1325.—Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak ruled for little more than four years. He was of mixed Turkish and Indian descent, and was an old man when he became king. He owed his crown to his fame as a warrior and he secured it by the better fame of a just ruler. The previous conquerors of Southern India, Malik Kafur and Khusru, had allowed the Hindu princes to rule in their kingdoms; but Ghiyas-ud-din annexed their kingdoms. He is reported to have been murdered by his son who adopted the title of Muhammad Tughlak. Some historians say that he died by the accidental falling in of a roof while at dinner.

Muhammad Tughlak.—1325–1351.—This prince was gifted with superb talents, but he wasted them on schemes of visionary greatness. He is said to have been the most learned and accomplished prince of his time. He bought off the Mongols and established friendship with them so that in his reign there were no more Mongol invasions. He then turned his attention to the Deccan. The beautiful scenery of Deogiri struck him. He changed its name to Daulatabad and made it the capital of his empire. He then ordered the people of Delhi to evacuate the city and march with all their belongings to the new capital. But his mad project which involved the sacrifice of many lives failed. Now began his wild schemes of universal empire. He sent a large army to conquer China, but it perished in the forests of Assam. He collected another large army for the conquest of Persia, but he had no money to pay his soldiers; and to replenish his treasury he raised the

taxes to such a height that the poor fled to the forests. Muhammad, thereupon, caused the forests to be surrounded by troops; and the people were shot down like wild beasts. Rebellions broke out in all directions. Those in Malwa and the Punjab were put down, but another in Bengal was successful (1338-9). The Deccan broke away from Muhammad's grasp. A new Hindu empire was slowly rising at Vijayanagar, while Zafar Khan Hasan made himself independent and founded the Mohammedan Bahmani kingdom with its capital at Gulbarga. The last five years of the Sultan's reign were spent in Gujarat and the Deccan in the vain attempt to restore his rule. He died of a fever on the banks of the Indus, while pursuing a rebel governor.

Muhammad Tughlak was a skilful and brave warrior, well versed in the philosophy of the Greeks and in other literary accomplishments. He was also known for his piety which he showed by a strict observance of rites and abstinence from drunkenness and other vices forbidden by the Koran. But his character was not without its dark features. He was cruel and vindictive. Ibn Batuta remarks: "This king is of all men the one who most loves to dispense gifts and to shed blood. His gateway is never free from a beggar whom he has relieved and a corpse which he has slain"; and Ferishtah corroborates one part of this description when he observes: "So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of the God's creatures, that when anything occurred which excited him to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to extinguish the human species altogether."

Firoz Shah.—1351-1388.—The choice of the nobles now fell upon Firoz Shah, Muhammad's cousin. After a vain attempt to regain Bengal, Firoz Tughlak recognised its independence, as also the independence of the Deccan. Though nominally he was emperor of Northern





NDIA IN 1398.

India, he was in reality only king of the Punjab and a few districts near Punjab. He deserves to be remembered for his works of public usefulness. Land was reclaimed, taxes were lightened, canals were cut, roads were built, and hospitals, schools and colleges were opened. The testimony of the chroniclers of his time shows that he was adored by the people. Not only did he reduce taxation, and increase irrigation, but he was "a father to his people," "took care of the needy and unemployed," "contrived the marriages of poor Moslems who could not otherwise afford the usual dowries," and provided state hospitals for the sick of all classes, native and foreign. He died after a long and peaceful reign. His death was followed by a contest among his sons and grandsons for the throne.*

The Invasion of Taimur, 1398.—A kingdom so divided against itself offered an easy prey to the invader. The Mongol Emperor Taimur, or Tamerlane, a descendant of Chingiz Khan, had swept over the whole of Central Asia with his hordes of Tartars who had all been converted to the faith of Islam. The wealth of India and the weakness of the Pathan rulers tempted him to attack India. He marched by the Khyber Pass into the Punjab, captured city after city and plundered them all. The people were taken as slaves or put to the sword. When he approached Delhi the inhabitants made an attempt to oppose him. Mahmud Shah II., the pageant king and his minister, Ikbāl Khan, went out with a large army, but were repulsed. The defeated king fled to Gujarat. The chief men of the city then opened the gates when Taimur promised that no lives would be taken. On entering Delhi he proclaimed himself emperor; and then the sack of Delhi began. For five days the work of massacre and plunder went on before Taimur, according to some chroniclers, even became aware of it.

* Between 1388 and 1413 the throne of Delhi was occupied by six different claimants of the House of Tughlak. The last of these was Mahmud Shah II. who exercised a feeble and fitful rule till his death in 1413.

He had remained outside in the camp to celebrate a festival in honour of his victory. After a fortnight he left Delhi, massacred the inhabitants of Meerut and arrived at Hardwar. He now began his return journey. He had carried out two objects : he had fought with infidels, and he had given his soldiers the wealth of the infidels.

For two months after Taimur left, Delhi remained desolate : then Ikbāl Khan, the Minister of Mahmud Shah II., became ruler of the tract lying between the Jumna and the Ganges and reigned for five years. Internal feuds broke out and Ikbāl Khan was slain. Mahmud Shah II. returned to Delhi in 1405. The next few years were spent in a struggle between Mahmud and the nobles who had set themselves up as independent kings ; the Sultan played but a sorry part and died in 1413. With the death of Mahmud Shah II. the line of the Tughlaks came to an end.



TAIMUR.

By kind permission of the Trustees, Victoria Memorial Section, Indian Museum.



INTERIOR VIEW OF CHITOR.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SAIYAD AND THE LODI DYNASTIES.

1413—1526.

The Kingdom of Delhi.—The Saiyads.—1414–1450.—On the death of Mahmud Shah II. the nobles placed on the throne an Afghan, Daulat Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan held the throne for about a year when he was deposed by Khizr Khan, who had gained the favour of Taimur and had been appointed by him governor of the Punjab. He was the founder of the dynasty of Saiyads, literally (as they claimed to be) the descendants of the Arabian prophet. He refused to assume regal titles, and affected to regard himself only as the viceroy or deputy of Taimur, in whose name money was coined. He was constantly occupied with the task of retaining some sort of control over the small territory still attached to the kingdom of Delhi. He died at Delhi in 1421 to the grief of the people whom he had won over to himself by the justice and moderation of his character. He was succeeded by his son Mubarak who was murdered in 1434, by his vizier. The anarchy that ensued, afforded the opportunity to an Afghan chieftain, Bahlol Lodi, who had already established his sway over Sirhind, Lahore and the country as far south as Panipat. He set out for Delhi, compelled the last of the Saiyads to abdicate in his favour and assumed the sovereignty of the kingdom of Delhi in 1450.

The Kingdom of Delhi.—The Lodis.—1450–1526.—Bahlol the founder of the Lodi dynasty, is reported to have been born under strange circumstances. Before he was born his mother was killed by the fall of a house. Her

husband, thereupon, ordered her body to be opened, and the life of the infant was saved. The principal event of his reign was the recovery of the kingdom of Jaunpur from the Sharki family. Husain Shah Sharki was defeated in a battle near Kanauj and deprived of all his possessions. Bahlol was a man of simple habits, pious, brave and generous. On his death in 1489 his son Nizam Khan ascended the throne under the title of Sikandar Lodi.

Sikandar Lodi.—1489–1517.—Sikandar had a prosperous reign of twenty-eight years, during which he enlarged the boundaries of his dominions. His brother Barkak Khan, governor of Jaunpur, refused to acknowledge Sikandar's election to the throne, and took up arms. But he was defeated and removed from his office. Sikandar also annexed Bihar, and reoccupied Dholpur, Gwalior and other provinces. It is said that in his time harvests were plentiful, food cheap, and the people contented. Sikandar had a comely appearance, was a patron of learning, and known for his judicial sagacity.

Ibrahim Lodi.—1517–1526.—Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. He was soon after his accession called upon to suppress a rebellion headed by his younger brother Jalal Khan who was placed by a number of discontented Afghan chiefs on the throne of Jaunpur. Jalal Khan was defeated and obliged to fly to Gwalior, and thence to Malwa, where he was taken prisoner and done away with by the king's orders. This and other cruel deeds led to other outbreaks of rebellion among the nobility. Bahadur Khan, governor of Bihar, declared himself independent and assumed the title of king. He defeated the Delhi army in several engagements. Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Lahore, also revolted, and fearing for his own ultimate safety entered into communication with Babar who was then reigning in Kabul. Babar was a direct descendant of Tamerlane, and had long kept his eye fixed on Hindustan

which he regarded as his inheritance. Nothing could be more pleasing to him than this invitation. He was well acquainted with the state of the country and marched with a large army of 40,000 horse, joined on the way by many of the discontented Afghan nobility. He took Lahore and advanced towards Delhi. A fierce battle was fought at Panipat (1526) where Babar obtained a complete victory, which brought in a new era in Indian History, the era of the Moghul Emperors.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MOHAMMEDAN KINGDOMS OF BENGAL, JAUNPUR, AND GUJARAT.

The Kingdom of Bengal.—1205–1576.—The first Mohammedan to invade Bengal was an officer of Moiz-uddin Ghorî, by name Muhammad Khalj. Before his death which occurred about 1205 he had established his capital at Lakhnauti on the left bank of the Ganges and advanced as far as Nadia. The thirteenth century witnessed the unsuccessful endeavours of the Sultans of Delhi to establish their hold over Bengal. In the fourteenth century we find rival kings ruling Eastern and Western Bengal from the two cities of Sonargaon near Dacca and Satgaon close to Hughli. In 1352 Eastern and Western Bengal were united under Ilyas Shah. He founded a new capital at Pandua, a little to the North of Lakhnauti, and made Bengal entirely independent of Delhi. He was a vigorous ruler. His son, Sikandar Shah, is famous as the builder of the celebrated Adina mosque at Pandua. Sikandar's successors were deposed by Raja Kans (Ganesh) in 1409. He and his descendants ruled over Bengal till 1445 when the kingdom was restored to the family of Ilyas Shah. These princes of the family of Ilyas Shah were so weak that they fell into the hands of the Habshis or Abyssinians who ultimately raised one of their own number to the throne. The power of the Habshis was destroyed by Husain Shah (1493–1518) who greatly respected the Hindus. He made a campaign in Assam and made war on Orissa. He attempted to conquer Bihar but was opposed by Sikandar Lodi (1499). He had

two sons who reigned till 1539, in which year the dynasty was deposed by Sher Shah. Finally, the kingdom of Bengal was conquered by Akbar in 1576, and annexed to the Moghul Empire.

The Kingdom of Jaunpur.—1394–1476.—In 1394 Mahmud Tughlak appointed a powerful eunuch noble, named Khwaja Jahan, governor of the eastern provinces (including Benares and Oudh). He took up his residence at Jaunpur, a town on the Gumti, founded by Firoz Shah Tughlak about 1351. He soon got into his possession the territories of Kanauj, Bahraich, Bihar and Tirhut. On his death in 1399 he was succeeded by an adopted son Mubarak Shah. The dynasty of Khwaja Jahan, known as the Sharki dynasty, ruled for nearly a century, over a territory extending from Kanauj to Bihar and from the Ganges to the Himalaya Tarai. Under Husain Shah Sharki who ascended the throne in 1459, Orissa was invaded with a large army, and the Hindu ruler of Gwalior was forced to pay tribute. The last independent king, Husain Shah, laid claim to the throne of Delhi, but was defeated by Bahlol Lodi in three successive battles and pursued to Jaunpur which was captured by Bahlol. The kingdom was finally subdued by Sikandar Lodi, the son of Bahlol, who annexed it to Delhi in 1476.

The Kingdom of Gujarat.—1394–1572.—Gujarat was first invaded by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1025–1027. Other invasions followed but it was not till 1196 that Gujarat was annexed to the kingdom of Delhi. It continued more or less under subjection until the end of the fourteenth century when Zafar Khan, the son of a converted Rajput, declared himself independent under the title of Muzaffar Shah. In 1411 the sceptre passed to his grandson, Ahmad Shah, the founder of the capital, Ahmadabad. This king ruled for thirty-one years and built many of the fine buildings of

which Ahmadabad is still proud. Ahmad Shah thrice invaded Malwa, penetrating once as far east as Sarangpur. The most famous of the successors of this ruler was Mahmud Shah Begara (1459-1511). In his reign there was a war with Mewar, in which Chitor was besieged and Abu, the country of Mewar's ally, was annexed. He invaded Cutch, and reduced the fortresses of Girnar and Champaner. He also reduced the pirates on the coast, and undertook a naval expedition against the Portuguese, in which he was defeated by the Portuguese fleet in a battle off Diu, in Kathiawar. The last notable ruler was Bahadur Shah (1526-1537). He compelled Khandesh and Berar to acknowledge his power, and annexed Malwa to Gujarat. These victories were, however, eclipsed by the successful capture of the Rajput stronghold of Chitor (1534). He then defied Humayun : but when the latter marched against him he fled to Mandu, the capital of Malwa, and thence to Cambay. Shortly after when Humayun was recalled to Delhi, Bahadur Shah recovered his kingdom, but was killed in a scuffle in 1537. The kingdom finally came to an end when Akbar marched to Ahmadabad in 1572 and the last king formally resigned his crown to the Moghul Emperor.

CHAPTER XV.

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN.

The Bahmani Kingdom.—1347–1526.—As we have already seen, upon the invasion of Taimur all the provinces which once belonged to the Delhi sultans made themselves independent. The greatest of these independent Moham-medan kingdoms which now came into existence was that of the Bahmani kings in the Deccan. Hasan Gangu, a brave Afghan, who had been a slave at Delhi, rose to be commander of armies in the south and organising a rebellion defeated the royal troops near Bidar. No attempt was made to suppress the rising, and in 1347 Hasan became king of the Deccan. All the Deccan from Elichpur in Berar down to the Krishna and Tungabhadhra rivers and from the Arabian Sea to the frontier of Warangal belonged to the Bahmani kingdom. The Empire of Vijayanagar in the south remained the last bulwark of Hindu power in the Deccan. Hasan Gangu fixed his capital at Gulbarga near the Bhima.

On the death of Hasan (1358) his son Mahommed I. succeeded him. The king of Vijayanagar who coveted the triangular district between the Krishna and Tungabhadhra, known as the Raichur Doab, was constantly at war with the Bahmani kings. Mahommed invaded the territories of Vijayanagar, slaughtered a large number of men and women who fell into his hands, and besieged, but in vain, the capital of the kingdom. Mahommed was followed by his son Mujahid who was murdered by his uncle Daud. In 1425 Ahmad Shah I., a later descendant, annexed Warangal to the territories of the Bahmani kings. The Konkan was subdued and

the petty chiefs were compelled to pay tribute. Between 1435 and 1461 the kingdom declined, but the genius of a statesman Mahmud Gawan gave it a fresh lease of life. As Prime Minister he annexed the Konkan and the Northern Circars and extended the boundaries of the State. Learned, pious, generous and of simple habits, he nevertheless aroused the jealousy and hatred of the Deccani nobility who brought about his ruin. He was executed on a false charge of treachery (1481). After his death the kingdom was rent by factions and fell to pieces. But out of the ruins of the kingdom there arose five small and vigorous States—Berar, Bidar, Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Golconda.

The Kingdom of Berar.—1484–1574.—Imad-ul-Mulk, sometimes known as Fateh Ulla Imad Shah, a converted Hindu from the Kanara coast, was governor of Berar and in 1484 made himself independent. The Bahmani kings made no effort to reconquer the territory. On the death of Imad Shah, he was succeeded by his son and grandson respectively. On the death of the latter an infant boy, who was the legitimate heir to the throne, was raised to it, but was soon set aside by the regent who assumed power in his own name. This regent was defeated about 1574 by the Nizam Shahi ruler of Ahmednagar who annexed Berar to his own dominions.

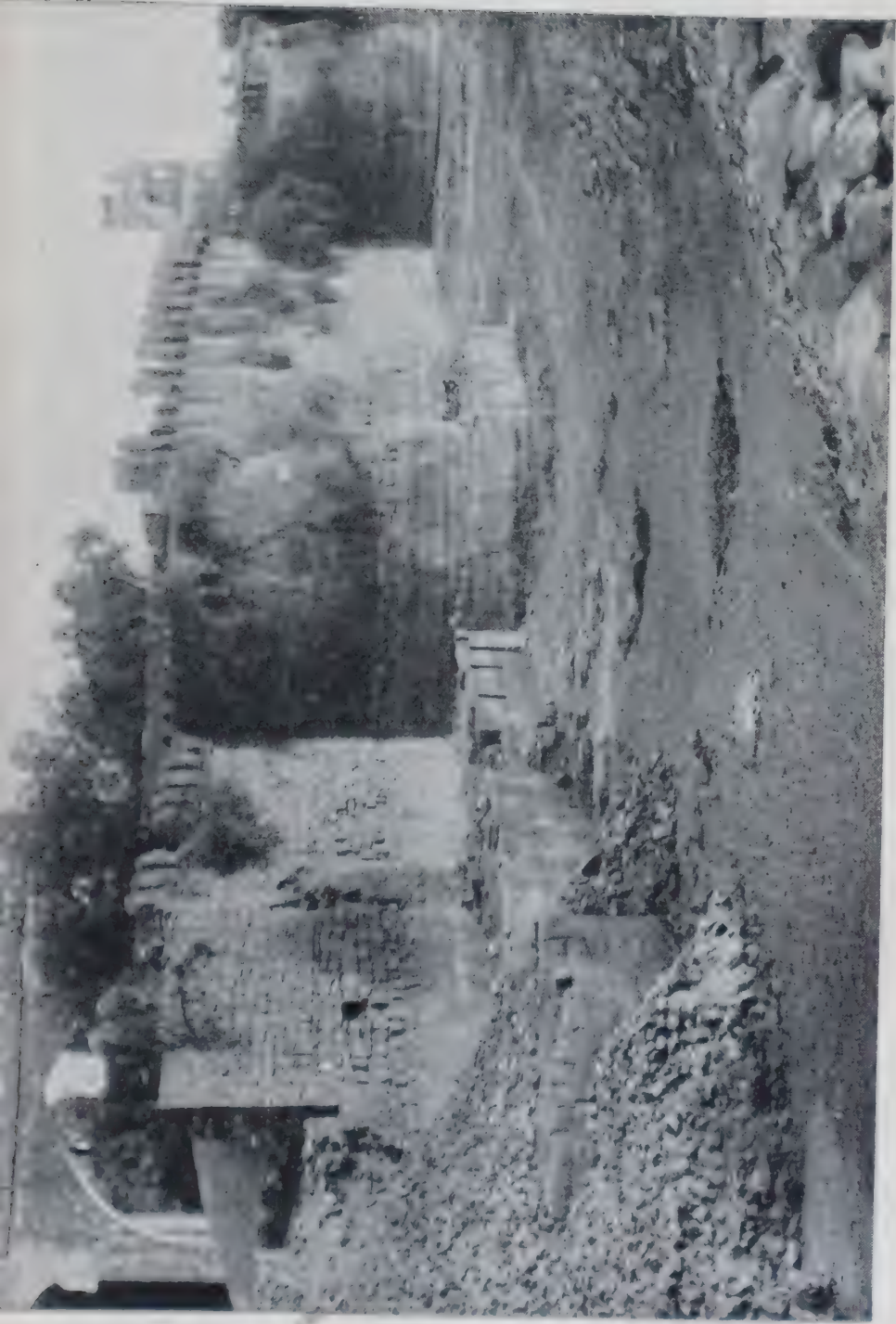
The Kingdom of Ahmednagar.—1490–1637.—The founder of the kingdom of Ahmednagar was Malik Ahmed, governor of Daulatabad and son of Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk. He founded the city of Ahmednagar, made it the capital of his kingdom and built a fort. He was the first of the Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmednagar. He captured Daulatabad and annexed a part of Khandesh. In 1527 Bahadur Shah, king of Gujarat, invaded Ahmednagar, and forced the king to admit his supremacy. In a short time the Nizam Shahi king succeeded in throwing

off the yoke. A war with Bijapur followed, in the course of which the Nizam Shahi king was besieged in his capital, and forced to sue for peace. The Mohammedan kings of the Deccan now combined against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which was ultimately crushed. Berar was seized by the Nizam Shahis under Murtaza Shah. The civil strifes in the kingdom which followed the death of Murtaza Shah led Akbar to send an army of invasion, which was repulsed however by the defence of the celebrated queen Chand Bibi in 1596. Akbar captured the capital in a second attempt in 1600. In 1610 an Abyssinian chief, Malik Ambar, freed the territory from the yoke of the Moghuls and set up the last king's son. Malik Ambar after a successful career died in 1629, and his son raised to the throne a boy of ten. In 1637 the boy-king was captured and sent to Gwalior and what was once the Nizam Shahi kingdom was annexed to the Moghul Empire.

The Kingdom of Golconda.—1512–1687.—The founder of the Kutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda was Malik Kutub-ul-Mulk, a Turk of Hamadan. He entered the service of the Bahmani king and was made governor of Telinga by Mahmud Gawan. He made himself independent and ruled the country as king for thirty-one years. Under his successors the kingdom was extended by the annexation of Rajmahendri and the city of Warangal. Their capital was Golconda, but when this was found unhealthy it was shifted to Hyderabad. The fifth king of this line, Abdulla, had a powerful minister, Mir Jumla, who met with remarkable success in conquering small Hindu kingdoms in the Karnatic. But the Golconda kingdom was already showing symptoms of decline. Sivaji levied tribute from it in 1677; a Moghul army under Diler Khan invaded it in 1678; and the kingdom was annexed to the Moghul Empire in 1687.

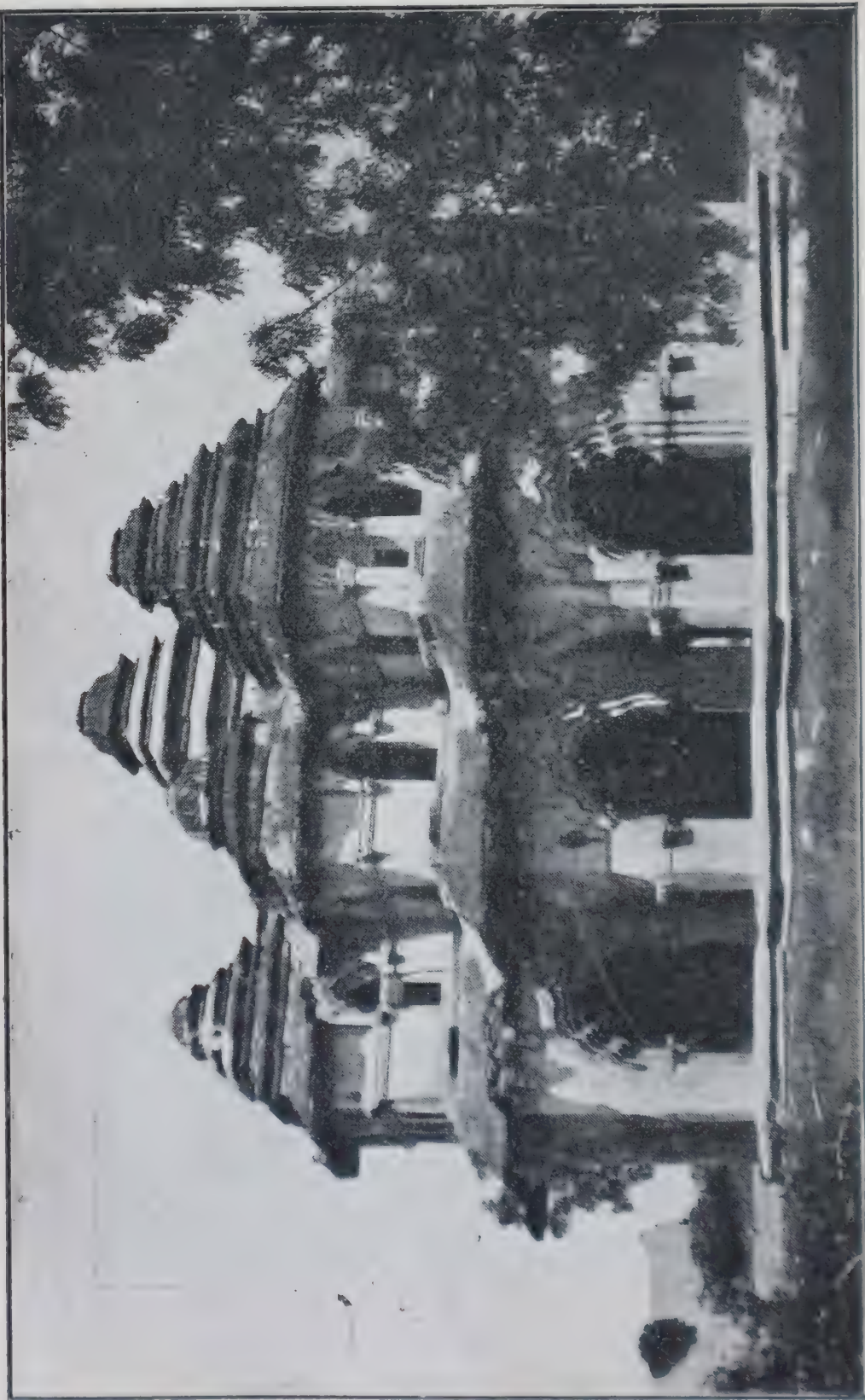
The Kingdom of Bijapur.—1489–1686.—Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the kingdom, was a Georgian slave who had found his way through Persia to the court of the Bahmani king. By his ability he soon rose to the position of the commander-in-chief of the Bahmani forces and governor of Bijapur. He soon made himself independent (1489), and declared war against Vijayanagar. He was a wise and tolerant ruler, and raised Hindus to high offices in the state. During the reign of his successor, Ismail, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar were defeated in an attempted invasion. There was continuous warfare between Bijapur and the neighbouring Mohammedan states. In 1564 Ali Adil Shah, the Bijapur king, combined with the kings of Golconda and Ahmednagar to destroy the Hindu state of Vijayanagar. A great battle was fought at Talikota in 1565 in which the Hindus were thoroughly beaten, and the dynasty of Vijayanagar extinguished. It was this same king Ali Adil Shah who built at Bijapur the famous mosque, the city wall, a large masonry reservoir and aqueducts. He was followed by a minor, with Chand Bibi, the queen dowager, as regent. Wars with Ahmednagar followed; in the course of these wars the king of Ahmednagar was killed in battle (1595). In 1633 a siege of Bijapur by the Moghul armies lasted for two years, after which a peace was concluded. Bijapur had now to face a new and formidable foe in the Marathas; and after repeated attacks the kingdom was finally occupied by the Moghuls in 1686.

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar.—1336–1565.—Whilst Mohammedan kingdoms were rising in the Deccan on the break-up of the Pathan Empire of Delhi many Hindu states also rose to power—the principal of these being the kingdom of Vijayanagar. The dynasty of Vijayanagar was founded by two brothers Bukka and Harihara, Kanarese by birth, assisted by the celebrated prime minister



THE WALLS AND MOAT OF BIJAPUR.

Photo, Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.



THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, VIJAYANAGAR.

Madhavacharya, a scholar and a general. He expelled the Mohammedans from Goa and revived the Vedic religion. There was constant wars between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom. On the death of the last king of the Bukka family, there was a period of anarchy. A minister, Narasimha, ascended the throne (1486). In the course of a few years he effected extensive conquests in the Tamil country to the south. In 1509 the greatest of the Vijayanagar rulers, Krishna Dev Raya, succeeded to the throne. He ruled for twenty years, and under him a number of places seized by the King of Orissa and the Sultan of Golconda were recovered. In 1520 he organised a grand invasion of the Bijapur territories. 700,000 men poured over the Adil Shahi kingdom; the Adil Shahi monarch was defeated in a pitched battle, and Raichur was annexed. A later descendant of this family, Rama Raya, joined the king of Bijapur in invading Ahmednagar and acted with barbarity (1558). The Mohammedans were enraged and combined in an expedition against Vijayanagar which completely destroyed the kingdom (battle of Talikota, 1565). The capital of Vijayanagar was removed to Penukonda, and still later to Chandragiri. It was from the Raja of Chandragiri that the English purchased the site of the present city of Madras, 1639. The magnificent ruins of Vijayanagar (at Hempi, near Hospett), which mark the city of old, bear witness to the power and wealth of the great Deccan kingdom of the Hindus.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDIA UNDER THE AFGHANS.

Spread of Mohammedan Power.—The political result of three centuries of Afghan rule in India was the spread of the Mohammedan power over the greater part of the country. Under rulers of the type of Kutb-ud-din, Altamsh and Balban the kingdom of Delhi established Muslim supremacy throughout Northern India and ultimately in the Deccan ; and, even after the decline of the kingdom, independent Muslim rulers established themselves in Bengal, in Gujarat, in Sindh, in Jaunpur, and in the Deccan. The Afghan rulers held India by the sword. They usually held the great cities and there established colonies of Afghans and other foreign soldiers ; while they left the rest of the country to look after itself. They protected the country from foreign invasions, and secured internal peace and order to a certain extent by suppressing rebellions. They were content to draw their revenues from the Zamindars in Bengal and from the tribute paid by the Hindu Rajas who acknowledged their supremacy.

Internal Administration. Redeeming Features.

—The wars and vicissitudes of the kings of Delhi are apt to mislead the student into forming an unfavourable estimate of the Afghan rule in India. The Afghan kings were generally easy to access ; they inquired into petitions and transacted business in the daily assemblies of their court. In the provinces the governors appointed by the kings of Delhi exercised the executive powers of the state ; but they usually allowed the Hindu chiefs to retain their hereditary jurisdiction, and refrained from interfering with internal administrative arrangements. For instance, in Bengal the large

majority of the village population saw little of the Moham-medan Kajis and Kotwals (judges and policemen) who were lodged in the town; and the Afghan rule scarcely made any difference in the conditions of their life. In the rest of Northern India the self-governing village communities scarcely felt the effects of the wars and revolutions that agitated the kingdom of Delhi. The follies and crimes of royal families did not touch the well-being of the masses. Acts of oppression of the agricultural population were almost unknown, because the rulers were shrewd enough to appreciate the wisdom of refraining from such oppression. One more redeeming feature about the Afghan rule in India might be noticed. When the Gaznavite kings invaded India they carried off the treasures of temples and palaces: the Afghan rulers made their home in India, and the country had not to pay tribute to a foreign ruler residing at Ghazni or Ghor. India's revenues were spent in India.

Condition of the People.—The people, as we have already stated, were allowed to pursue in peace their occupations in the field or at the loom; and though there were frequent wars and changes in the dynasties that ruled at Delhi, these wars were less hurtful to the industries and agriculture of India than the wars of the feudal barons to the industries of the western nations in the Middle Ages.

The general state of the country was flourishing. Nicolo di Conti, who travelled in India about 1420, found the banks of the Ganges covered with towns, and passed four famous cities before he reached Maarazia which he describes as a city filled with gold and precious stones. Barani, the historian of Firoz Shah, dwells on the happy condition of the ryots, the excellence of their houses and furniture and the general use of gold and silver ornaments by their women. Even allowing for his exaggerated description, there can be no doubt that the people lived in comfort under their old world system, free from molestation.

Urdu Language.—The Urdu language for the first time came into vogue under the Afghans. The foreign rulers, after settling in India, began to make use of a mixed dialect, made up of Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Sanskritic words. This was known as Urdu; it was much cultivated in Moghul times, and it has now a comparatively large literature.

Architecture and Public Works.—Architecture made comparatively little progress to the time of the Moghul rulers. Firoz Shah is a solitary instance of a ruler who constructed canals and introduced the system of irrigation. Amongst the monuments left to us by the Afghan rulers of Delhi, may be mentioned the Black Mosque at Delhi, built in 1387 by Firoz Shah, and the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak as well as the Kutb Minar.

Education.—The Afghans founded colleges and schools at their capitals, but the languages taught in them—Persian and Arabic—were foreign to the people and the subjects taught were religious works and a few elementary sciences.

Religious and Literary Movement.—The Hindu literature of eleventh and twelfth centuries was marked by the growth of Vaishnava influence. Ramanuja was a famous teacher of this cult. He taught the unity of God under the name of Vishnu. He proclaimed the love of God as the way to salvation. Much the same teaching characterised Ramananda, another teacher who spread his faith in Northern India, in the fourteenth century. Kabir, disciple of the latter, appealed to the Hindu and Mohammedans, alike. "The city of the Hindu God is in the East (Benares) and the city of the Musulman God in the West (Mecca): but search your hearts and there you will find the God both of Hindus and Musulmans." Nanak preached the same popular monotheism in the Punjab and Chaitanya in Bengal. Both flourished in the fifteenth century.

Literary culture in the period of Afghan rule is marked by the growth of the Tamil language and literature in the

South. This is evidenced, among other things, by the publication of the famous commentaries on the Vedas by Sayana, brother of Madhava, the minister of the founder of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. In Bengal it was marked by the composition of the *Gita Govinda*, an immortal Sanskrit lyric by Jayadeva, and by the translation of the great Sanskrit epics into Bengali verse.

The Political Condition of India at the time of Babar's Invasion.—The great Bahmani dynasty which had established its rule in the Deccan in 1347, had declined in power after a prosperous career and its territories had been formed into five separate states presided over by Mohammedan rulers—Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golconda, Berar and Bidar. South of the Krishna river flourished the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. The province of Gujarat was an independent Mohammedan kingdom, and remained so till the days of Akbar. In Malwa the attempts of the Rajputs to maintain their independence had been crushed ; and there was an independent Mohammedan ruler in 1526. Sindh was also governed by an independent Mohammedan ruler. There were several Rajput states in Central India : the principal of these were Chitor, Marwar or Jodhpur, Bikanir, Jesulmir and Jeypore. Finally Bengal had become an independent Mohammedan kingdom, and retained its independence till it was annexed to the Moghul Empire by Akbar. Thus at the time of Babar's invasion the kingdom of Delhi was confined to Delhi and the districts in the immediate vicinity of Delhi. There was no single power in India which might with reason claim to be paramount ; and the whole country was broken up into a number of Hindu and Mohammedan states which contended with one another on a footing of equality.

BOOK III.

THE MOGHUL EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XVII.

BABAR.

Early Career of Babar.—Babar was descended from the family of Tamerlane, the great Tartar chief. Though a Moghul by his mother's side, in his Memoirs he speaks with some contempt of the Moghul race. It is strange, then, that the dynasty which he was about to establish was destined to take its name from it. The explanation is that the title "Great Moghul" was not chosen by him but was applied by the Hindus generally to all Mohammedans of the Northwest. When his father died he was only eleven years of age. The kingdom he inherited was known as Ferghana, a fine valley enclosed by mountains. He was the knight-errant of Asia, who spent a whole lifetime in losing or winning kingdoms. At one moment he was ruler of a great empire; in the next he had scarcely a hut to shelter him. Once, when driven out from his native land, he resolved to attack Samarcand, which was defended by a strong army. He approached at midnight, scaled the walls and was joined by his friends. The sovereign of Samarcand fled, and Babar held his dominions for a considerable time. He was subsequently defeated by the Uzbeks and driven from his possessions. But the tide of good fortune returned, and he succeeded in conquering Kabul and Kandahar.

His Indian Campaigns.—Condition of India.—He now turned his attention to India. The times were favourable. The throne of Delhi had been occupied by a series

of Afghan chiefs, who had never gained the affections of the people and ruled only by the sword. The chiefs fought among themselves, and the succession was regulated not so much by the ordinary rules of relationship as by court intrigue and assassination. Under this system the kingdom had been broken up into fragments, and Delhi exhibited a mere shadow of its former greatness. A country thus ruled, and looked on as one of the richest regions of the globe, presented great attractions to the conqueror.

Babar's first campaign took place in 1519. He crossed over into the Punjab, when he wrote to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi that the Punjab of right belonged to him as a descendant of Tamerlane. He was obliged however to return to his dominions, where his presence was required by internal troubles. In 1520 he again marched in India, but was obliged to return as suddenly as before. In 1524, Daulat Khan Lodi, the Governor of Lahore, invited him to India to put an end to the state of insecurity that prevailed and to secure his own interests. Babar now advanced to Lahore, which he entered in triumph. Daulat Khan, however, turned against Babar, with the result that the latter had to remain satisfied with appointing governors over the districts which he had conquered, and to return home.

Battle of Panipat, 1526.—Alam Khan Ala-ud-din, an uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, who had been left in command of the Kabul forces, made an attempt to gain the throne of Delhi but was defeated. This induced Babar to enter on his final campaign. He crossed the Indus, was joined by Alam Khan, and advanced to Delhi. At Panipat, some fifty miles to the north of Delhi, he was met by Ibrahim Lodi with his forces. The battle that ensued decided the fate of Hindustan. Ibrahim's army was defeated and he himself was slain. Babar entered Delhi and was proclaimed Emperor of India. Agra also capitulated. Unlike his predecessors, he now made India his permanent residence.

He made rich presents to his chiefs and to the merchants who followed his camp, not forgetting holy men in various places nor his own subjects in the kingdom of Kabul.

Struggle with Rajput and Afghan Chiefs.—The task with which Babar was faced after Panipat was that of securing the position which that battle had obtained for him as ruler of Hindustan. At Kanwaha, near Sikri, in 1527, he gained a victory over an army of 200,000 brought against him by Rana Sanga, of Chitor, a brave Rajput chieftain who was supported by the chiefs of Marwar and Ajmere, Gwalior and Chanderi and many more. This was followed by the storming of Chanderi, a strong fortress in Malwa; and the Rajputs were subdued. There remained still the Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal who sided with Mahmud, brother of Ibrahim Lodi. These he also defeated in 1529 on the banks of the Gogra, obtaining for himself the nominal sovereignty of Bihar. We call it nominal, because it depended on the power of his sword, and was not to be changed into a well-ordered government till the times of his grandson. Babar died in 1530 at the age of forty-eight, and he was buried near Kabul, on the banks of a clear running stream, where his tomb still stands.

Character of Babar.—**His Memoirs.**—A soldier of fortune, he was also a man of fine literary tastes. He was an accomplished Persian poet, and in his native Turkish he could write in a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and in verse. The Turkish princes of those days prided themselves on their literary attainments, and it was their ambition to compose elegant *ghazals* and write a beautiful hand as much as to excel in bravery on the field of battle. His *Memoirs* contain a minute account of his life along with an effusion of his opinions and feelings on all questions of the day. About Hindustan he wrote, "The country and the towns are extremely ugly. All its towns

and lands have a uniform look." "Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society. They have no genius, no intellectual comprehension, no politeness, no kindness, no ingenuity, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no baths or colleges, no candles, or torches—never a candle-stick!" Perhaps he might have changed his opinions, had he lived longer in India. He longed to be back to his native mountains. "They very recently brought me a single musk-melon," he wrote to a friend. "While cutting it up, I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it."

Even in his last years he retained extraordinary physical vigour, though his constitution had been undermined by frequent bouts of drinking and opium as well as by fever. He could take up a man under each arm and run with them round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures. Even in March 1529 he wrote: "I swam across the river Ganges for amusement." He was also constantly in the saddle riding eighty miles a day.

His *Memoirs* also reflect the character of the author, a ruler with a kind and affectionate heart, an easy and sociable temper, a delicate taste and a sensibility to enjoyment of nature and imagination.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HUMAYUN.

His first Rule.—1530–40.—Humayun, as the eldest of the four sons of Babar, mounted the throne of Delhi, while the second son Kamran, governor of Kabul, made a claim to the Punjab which he was allowed to retain. This was short-sighted policy, for with Kamran as independent ruler of the Punjab, the main recruiting-ground of the Moghul army, *viz.* Afghanistan and the Punjab was cut off. Humayun had henceforward to depend upon the army already in India. The success which attended the aggression of Kamran may have encouraged others to dispute the authority of Humayun. At any rate we find Humayun confronted by two formidable foes.

(1) Bahadur Shah, King of Gujarat, who had added Malwa and other territories to his kingdom, received under his protection Humayun's brother-in-law. This led to a war between Humayun and the ruler of Gujarat. Restrained by religious considerations from attacking Bahadur Shah at a time when he was engaged with the Hindu Raja of Chitor, Humayun attacked Bahadur Shah subsequently at Mandesor, defeated him and pursued him to Cambay. His campaign in Gujarat was also marked by a brilliant exploit in the storming of Champanir (1535), which completed the conquest of the district.

(2) The next opponent who appeared was Sher Khan, an Afghan chief, who had made himself master of both Bihar and Bengal. Humayun advanced against him from Agra, and laid siege to Chunar, a strong and well garrisoned

fort near Benares. Chunar was taken after a siege of several months, but when the Emperor advanced along the Ganges, Sher Khan avoided a general engagement, and by a dexterous movement cut off his retreat. A year later, in 1540, Sher Khan defeated Humayun at Kanauj. The battle cost the Emperor his throne which was now occupied by the Afghan chief under the title of Sher Shah.

Humayun's Exile.—Humayun fled to Agra which could no longer be held; thence to Lahore, the seat of his brother Kamran, who, however, gave up the Punjab to Sher Khan. Humayun now fled to Sindh with a few followers, hoping for support from that province. He was soon without men and money, and sought the protection of the Rajah of Marwar. When that prince declined to help him, he fled towards Amarkot. He and his followers suffered terribly from want of water; and from over-indulgence when they found a well after a three days' search. At last Humayun reached Amarkot, with only seven followers, and it was here that his queen gave birth to the illustrious Akbar, destined to be the greatest Moghul ruler of India. From Amarkot Humayun proceeded to Kandahar, which was held by his brother. To him was entrusted the infant Akbar. The unlucky father continued his wanderings to Herat and Kazvin, whence he sent messengers to Persia for help.

Sher Shah: Early Life.—It is said that early in life Sher Shah imbibed the idea of driving the Moghuls from India and that Babar, at whose table he one day ate his dinner with his dagger, for want of a knife, remarked: "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles. He may become a great man yet." And he did become a great man, too great for the Moghul rulers.

His Reign.—1540-1545.—Sher Shah belonged to the Sur tribe of Afghans, hence his dynasty was known as the

Sur dynasty. Scarcely had he expelled Humayun when he was called to put down a revolt of his own lieutenant in Bengal. His next achievement was the conquest of Malwa, in the course of which he put to death the garrison of Raisin which had surrendered upon terms. He also invaded the barren tracts of Marwar, wasting time, money and men on a fruitless enterprise. He captured Chitor, and met his death by an explosion of gunpowder at the siege of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand, in 1545. He was a prince of great talents, both as a warrior and as a ruler. From Bengal to the Indus he built caravanserais and wells at intervals of two or three miles, and planted avenues along the roads. He so ordered his police arrangements that it was said that in his days merchants and travellers put down their property on the road and slept without fear. He fixed the land revenue at a fourth of the produce and introduced a system of post-horses.

His fiscal and other Reforms.—In Sher Shah's fiscal and administrative measures we see the origin of many of Akbar's reforms. A staunch believer in Islam as he was, he yet refrained from oppressing his Hindu subjects. He suppressed the disputes of his own people with all the energy of his nature. He divided his territory into hundreds, in each of which he placed local officers who acted as mediators between the people and the officers of the crown. These officials passed into Akbar's service after his death; and he could thus claim to have been the originator of many of those measures which marked the liberal administration of Akbar. The historian Abbas Khan observes about his administration: "His authority was completely established over the race of Afghans. From fear either of personal punishment or of deprivation of office there was not a creature who dared to act in opposition to his regulations; and if a son of his own, or a brother, or any of his relations and kin, or any chief or minister, did a thing

displeasing to Sher Shah, and it got to his knowledge, he would order the culprit to be bound and put to death. All, laying aside every bond of friendship or regard, for the sake of the honour of the Afghan name, obeyed unhesitatingly his irresistible decrees."

Successors of Sher Shah.—The second son of Sher Shah, usually known as Salim Shah, succeeded him, setting aside the eldest son. Like his father he was a great builder of caravanserais. When he died in 1553 his brother-in-law Muhammad Adil Shah seized his throne. He disgusted his nobles by conferring their estates upon low-born favourites. Rebellions broke out on every side; one relative took possession of Agra and Delhi, another of the Punjab. The entire control of affairs passed into the hands of Himu, a low-caste Hindu, who had risen to be favourite of Adil, and who was now busy suppressing a rebellion in Bengal.

Return of Humayun.—After his flight to Persia, Humayun conquered Kandahar from his own brother Askari in 1545 and took Kabul from Kamran in 1547. The next nine years of his life were years of varying fortunes; and it was not until his brothers were dead or exiled that he had peace in his little Afghan kingdom. Askari died on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Hindal died in battle; and Kamran, after repeated forgiveness, had to be blinded and sent to Mecca, where he too died. In 1555 in the midst of the confusion that marked the rule of the successors of Sher Shah, Humayun descended from Kabul with 15,000 horse, seized the Punjab, defeated Sikandar Sur at Sirhind and occupied Delhi and Agra. Prince Akbar was sent in pursuit of the fugitive Afghans, while Humayun set about organising his newly recovered territories. But scarcely had he been at Delhi for six months when he met with an accident which caused his death. He was one day descending, after a walk on the terrace of his library, by a stair of narrow steps. Hearing the call to prayer from the minaret he stopped,

repeated his creed, and sat down to wait till the muezim had made his round. In rising, his staff by which he was supporting himself slipped, and he fell headlong over the parapet. He died in 1556 at the age of fifty-one.

Character of Humayun.—By nature Humayun was more inclined to ease than ambition. Yet he had been brought up under the training of a father like Babar and accustomed to bodily and mental exertions. The *Memoirs* of his servants Jauhar describe him in all the conditions of his life as a simple, generous, good-humoured man, inferior in capacity to his father, but with a fond love for his wife and child. His character was not tainted by crime, the only charge levelled against him being the blinding of his brother Kamran, which he ordered to save him from a worse fate. "His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling, Humayun was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life, and he tumbled out of it."



BABAR.

Photo Bourne and Shepherd, India



AKBAR.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.

CHAPTER XIX.

AKBAR.

1556—1605.

Second Battle of Panipat, 1556.—Humayun was succeeded by his son Akbar, a youth of thirteenth, whose guardian Bairam Khan inflicted a defeat on Himu, who had got possession of Agra and had expelled Humayun's garrison from Delhi. After his occupation of Delhi, Himu proclaimed himself Mahrajah Vikramaditya and advanced towards the Punjab. On the field of Panipat once again was fought the battle between the forces of Himu and those of the young Moghul ruler led by Bairam Khan, which decided the fate of the country and gave it a century of peaceful development. Himu's forces were defeated, he himself lost his life and the rule of the Moghuls was restored and confirmed.

Political Condition of India in 1556.—At the time of Akbar's accession to the throne a number of independent kingdoms were established round about Delhi. Of these the most extensive was the kingdom of Gujarat which was not confined to the district of that name but extended over Malwa and Khandesh. Jaunpur, Sindh and Multan were also ruled over by independent rulers. Of the Rajput States the most important were Mewar, ruled by the Ranas of Udaipur, Marwar held by the Rathors, Jasulmir and Amber or Jeypore. Bengal had likewise its own independent rulers. In the north, all along the slopes of the Himalayas from Kashmir to the highlands which overlook the delta of the Ganges, were petty states each leading an isolated but self-centred existence.

Akbar's Minority.—1556–60.—When Akbar ascended the throne he was but thirteen years old, and Bairam Khan, the minister of his father, occupied the position of guardian and minister of the son. A Turk by birth, and a faithful servant of Humayun, Bairam had accompanied the latter in his exile and had taken a leading part in the defeat of Himu. But continued success and prosperity brought into marked relief the harsh character of the guardian. Though the skill and firmness of Bairam were much needed at a time when the Moghul rule was by no means firmly established, his oppressive rule made even the young king impatient. Many distinguished noblemen were put to death without so much as the formal consent of the master. Akbar resolved to free himself from so cruel a guardian; so under the pretext of his mother's illness, he left the minister's protection and hastened to Delhi and announced that he had assumed the conduct of affairs. Bairam Khan rebelled, but was defeated, and threw himself on Akbar's mercy, who allowed him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On the way he was killed by an Afghan.

His Wars and Conquests.—When Akbar took the reins of government into his hands, his kingdom consisted of the districts around Delhi and the Punjab. At first he had to acquire the provinces which had shaken off the yoke of Delhi. He soon subdued Ajmere, Gwalior, Lucknow, and the eastern districts as far as the confines of Bengal, and his general Khan Zaman defeated the son of the last king of the Sur dynasty.

Rebellions.—Akbar had to quell the rebellion of some of his own successful generals, before he accomplished the conquest of Rajputana. Khan Zaman had already attempted to take advantage of his successful career in Bengal, and to show an attitude of defiance, which had led Akbar to go to Bengal in person to assert his authority. Another trusted general Adam Khan, who had obtained a brilliant

success in Malwa, similarly endeavoured to keep the district to himself as an independent chieftain, with the result that Akbar marched against him and removed him from his government. Finally, in 1564, Abdulla Khan Uzbeg, a later viceroy of Malwa, rose in insurrection and was joined by several other Uzbegs who held commands in Akbar's army, and who were led to believe that Akbar was actuated by a dislike to their race. The war with these rebels lasted for two years with alternate defection and submission on the part of some of the chiefs. In 1567 Akbar marched against them in person, drove them across the Ganges, and when the enemies thought themselves secure behind the swollen river, he swam the Ganges at the head of a small party, took the rebels by surprise and completely routed them.

Rajputana.—Akbar now returned his attention to Rajputana. He attacked the Rana of Chitor, whose fortress was bravely defended by his general Jaimall. Chitor was taken in 1568 after the death of Jaimall. The Raja of Jeypore was reduced, and his daughter married to the Emperor. The Raja of Marwar, now Jodhpur, and other Rajput princes also submitted and became loyal servants of their conqueror. The grand-daughter of the Jodhpur Raja was given to the heir apparent, Prince Salim, afterwards Jahangir.

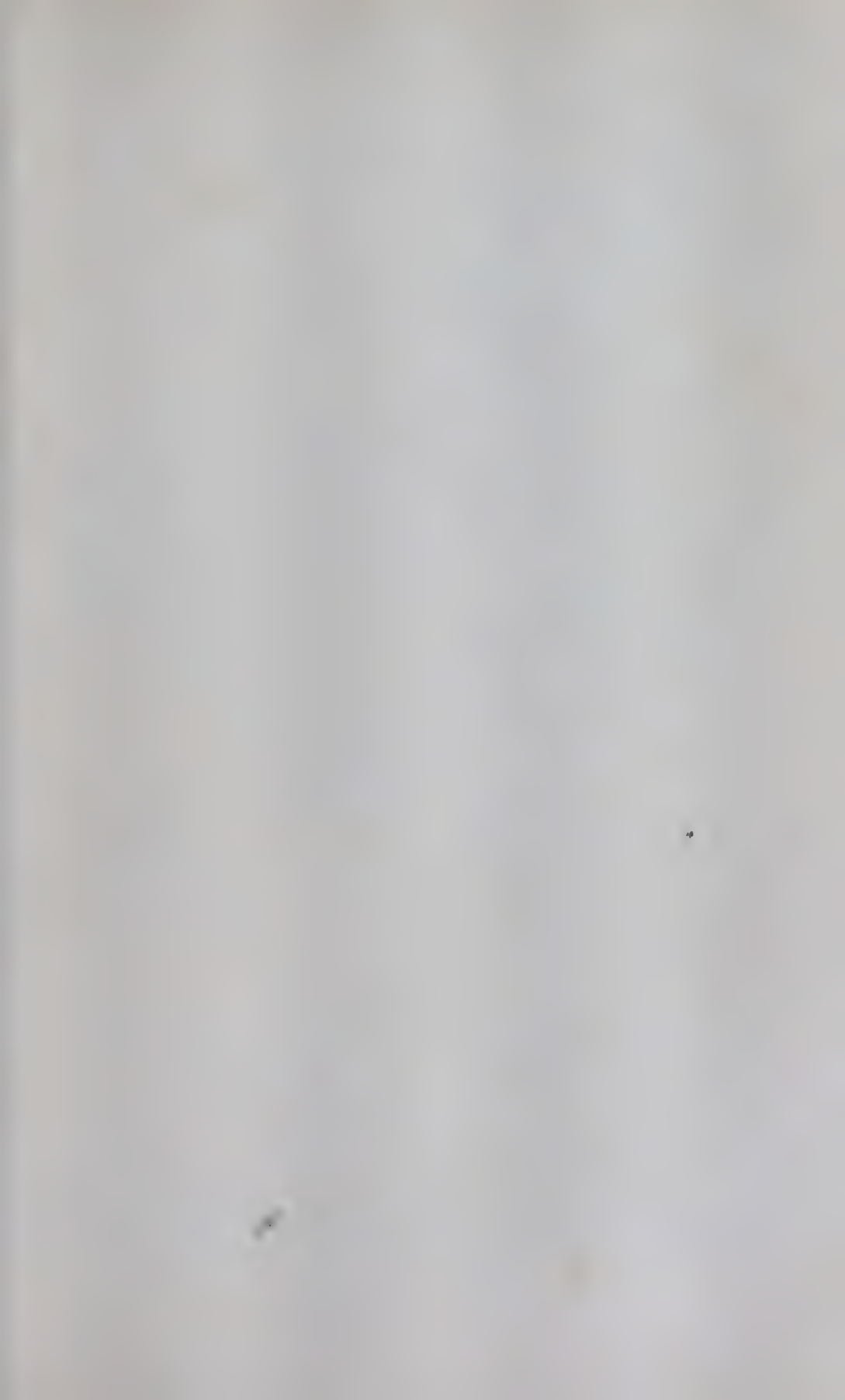
Gujarat, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.—The affairs of Gujarat where the Mirzas, princes of the house of Taimur, had taken refuge and were proving a source of disturbance, induced Akbar to interfere. In 1572 Akbar marched to Pattan and thence to Surat which he besieged. An attempt by the Mirzas to create a diversion in the Punjab was met by Akbar by a rapid movement in which he succeeded in intercepting them. Gujarat was finally reduced in 1573. Akbar's attention was next turned to Bengal, then ruled by a weak prince named Daud Khan. Akbar reduced it in 1575-76. But the Moghul chiefs who had seized on the

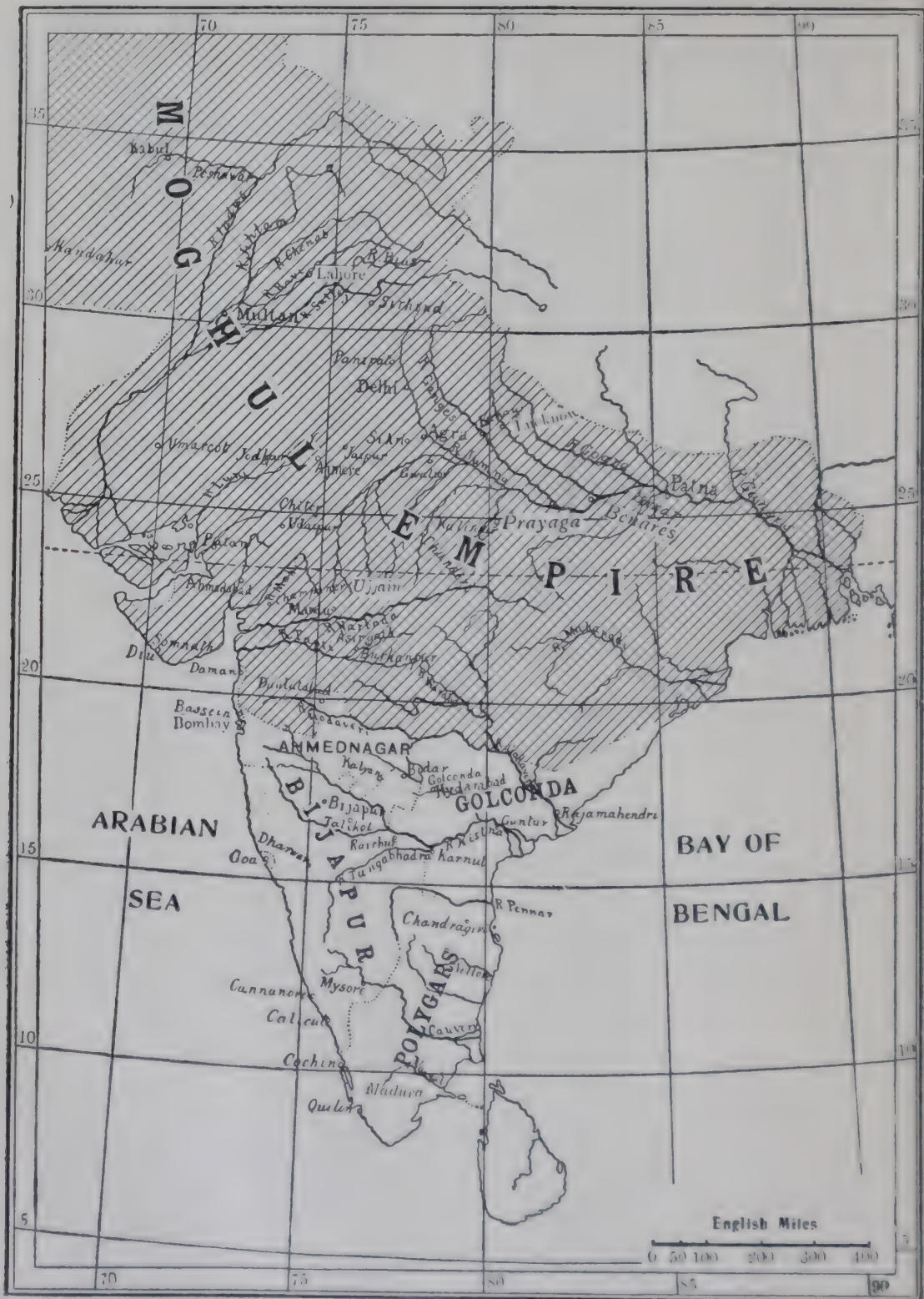
Jaghirs of the old settlers could not brook the revenue administration of Akbar with its regularity and investigations, and they rebelled. The rising was ultimately put down by Raja Todar Mal, Akbar's minister of finance, as strong and distinguished on the field of battle and in warfare as in statesmanship. Bengal, with Bihar and Orissa, ultimately became an integral part of the Moghul Empire.

Kashmir.—From ancient times Hindu Rajas had ruled in Kashmir, but in the fourteenth century it had been occupied by a Mohammedan chief. Domestic dissensions gave to the Emperor the occasion for interference. Akbar conquered the country (1586–7), which formed from that time the summer retreat of the great Moghuls and their courtiers.

Sindh and Kandahar.—Sindh was annexed in 1591 and its ruler made one of the chief nobles of the Moghul court. The Afghans also felt the weight of the Emperor's arm; though they were not reduced to complete subjection and continued to enjoy a rude independence, Kandahar was recovered from the lieutenant of the Shah of Persia, and was incorporated in the Empire (1595). It may have been about this time, when the Moghul Empire extended from Afghanistan across the whole of India north of the Vindhya mountains, including Sindh on the west and Orissa to the east, that Akbar moved the seat of government to the more central position of Agra, and founded Fatehpur Sikri, which he intended to be the imperial capital.

The Deccan.—The conquest of the South still remained, and to that task Akbar devoted the energies of his remaining years, apart of course from his absorbing interest in internal administration. In the Deccan the usual dissensions between the local princes and nobles were aggravated by the religious quarrels between the Shiah and Sunnis. As early as 1591 Akbar sent embassies to the four kingdoms of the Deccan, Khandesh, Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmednagar, to





INDIA IN 1605.

demand recognition of his authority. Khandesh submitted, but the other kingdoms refused to do homage. Akbar sent Prince Murad with a large force to Ahmednagar. The heroic defence of the city by Chand Bibi, aunt of the infant Sultan, Bahadur Nizam Shah, has been immortalised in history and legend. We are told how she fired copper, silver and gold coins at the Moghuls when iron was exhausted, and how she was firing away the crown jewels when death quieted her soul. In 1596 a treaty was finally concluded with Ahmednagar by which Berar was ceded to the Moghuls. The Sultan of Khandesh now threw off his allegiance. In 1599 Akbar himself proceeded south to punish him. The strong fortress of Asirgarh was besieged and fell into Akbar's hands in 1601.

Last Years of Akbar's Life.—On his return from the Deccan Akbar had to deal with domestic troubles. His son Salim, who used to drink five quarts of wine a day, had seized Oudh and Bihar and assumed the style of king. To conciliate him, Akbar issued a proclamation appointing him his successor. Salim repaid this act of gratitude by the murder of Abul Fazl, his father's faithful friend and minister. In his *Memoirs* Salim defends this act as well as his rebellion by declaring that the minister had seduced his father from the true faith, from which indeed Akbar had somewhat departed. Nor did the other sons prove a comfort to the Emperor. Both Murad and Daniyal died from the effects of drink. This quick succession of troubles told on his health, and it became clear to all that his end was not far off. Raja Man Singh and other nobles who dreaded Salim, sought to persuade the Emperor, to pass him over in favour of his son Khusru. But the Emperor, desiring to put an end to the plots and intrigues around him, sent for Salim, was reconciled to him and nominated him his successor. He died at Agra in the sixty-third year of his age.

His Personal Qualities.—Akbar is described as a strongly built man, with a fair complexion, pleasing features and agreeable manners. He was endowed with a great personal strength and activity. In his youth he indulged in wine, but in later years his life was regular and abstemious. He slept little: "his sleep looked more like waking." He ate but once in the day, and that too in moderation. He took meat only twice a week. He was a fine polo player, and so devoted to the game that it is said he played it even by night, using fire balls. He delighted also in hunting, and in witnessing fights of animals. He sometimes underwent fatigue for the mere pleasure of the exercise, as when he rode from Ajmere to Agra, a distance of 240 miles in a day and a night.

Internal Administration.—In every department of the State business was conducted on rational and liberal principles. Not content with merely enlarging his dominions, nor with exercising a merely nominal sovereignty over them, Akbar made it his endeavour to give the country over whose destinies he presided a form of government that was at the same time strong but equitable, and permeated by humanitarian and liberal principles. His empire was divided into fifteen *Subahs* or provinces, each of which was governed by a head officer called a *Subahdar*, who had all authority civil and military vested in him. The Subahdar was assisted by a *Diwan* or Revenue Collector and a *Faujdar* whose authority extended over the local soldiery and all military establishments and regular troops. The Subahs, originally fifteen, were, by additional conquests, subsequently raised to eighteen.

Justice was administered by a court composed of an officer named *Mir-i-adl* (Lord Justice) and a *Kazi*. The latter stated the law and conducted the trial, and the former passed judgment. In large towns the police was under an officer called the *Kotwal* or Police Superintendent ; in the country

districts the landholders and villagers were made more or less responsible for protection of life and property.

Revenue System.—No Moslem served Akbar more zealously or with greater profit than the great financier Raja Todar Mal, a Khatri Rajput, who assisted Akbar's first Chancellor of the Exchequer, Muzzafar Khan, in settling the newly acquired kingdom, and subsequently served Akbar in different capacities and who was finally made chief Finance Minister in 1582. It was in this last capacity that he reconstructed the revenue system of the Moghul Empire. In the first place a fixed standard of measurement was adopted and the land was surveyed. It was then classified according as it was waste, fallow, or under crop. The last class was taken as the basis of assessment. Land which produced cereals or oilseeds was assessed to pay to the state one-third of the average gross produce; the other two-thirds was left to the cultivator. The assessments once made were to remain in force for nineteen years. Care was also taken to provide easy means of complaint when undue collections were exacted. Those guilty of such exactions were severely punished. The cultivators were made jointly as well as severally responsible for the payment of the assessment. Cultivators in need of seeds or implements were furnished with advances, and arrears were remitted in the case of small holdings. An accurate and minute record of each man's holdings and liabilities was to be kept. The measurements of land were all recorded, the distribution of land and the increase or diminution of revenue were also entered into the village registers. The land-revenue system of British India may be said in a sense to be a modification of the principles and practice of Akbar's revenue arrangements.

Liberal Spirit of his Rule.—Among the laws of Akbar which deserve notice is his prohibition of the burning of Hindu widows against their will. He also permitted widows

to marry again, contrary to the Hindu custom. On one occasion hearing that the Raja of Jodhpur was about to force his son's widow to the pile, Akbar mounted his horse and rode in haste to the spot to prevent the intended sacrifice. The liberal spirit of his rule also appears in his prohibition of the *jizya* or poll-tax which was usually imposed by Mohammedan rulers upon their Hindu subjects. At the same time he abolished all taxes on pilgrims, observing that "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet as all modes of worship were designed for one Great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout." Akbar likewise abolished the practice of making slaves of prisoners taken in war.

Akbar's policy, broadly speaking, was not so much a policy of dominion as of union. It was his normal practice, when Afghan or Rajputs set him at defiance, first to crush their rebellion and then to give their chiefs high rank in the Empire. The Rajput princes particularly founded themselves adopting a new attitude. Instead of being under the control of Afghan princes and armies, they became themselves princes of the Empire. Their daughters were numbered amongst the wives of the imperial family. They themselves commanded imperial armies and administered the imperial provinces. Hindus were employed equally with Mohammedans in the administration. Justice was given impartially among all classes of subjects, and Hindustan became one vast organized dominion, throughout which something very like equal government and equal rights prevailed for Hindus and Mohammedans.

Religion, Art and Literature.—Akbar looked upon all systems of religion with equal veneration, and held that people could obtain salvation by following any religion. He was accustomed in the evening to hold assemblies at which the doctors of different religions argued and disputed before

him, each in favour of the teaching of his own faith. In his religious speculations and in his policy Akbar was helped by two men in particular—(1) Abul Faizi, a great Persian poet and a diligent student of Sanskrit, who by means of Persian translations introduced Akbar to the poetry and philosophy of the Hindus; (2) Abul Fazal, Faizi's brother, who rose by his ability to the post of prime-minister, and produced the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnama*.

Among the public works executed during the reign of Akbar are the foundation of the city of Fatehpur-Sikri, the splendid palace erected there for his own residence, and near it a mosque remarkable for the beauty and majestic proportions of its architecture. Another work of Akbar is the tomb of his father Humayun at Delhi.

Of the Turkish sultana's house at Fatehpur where Akbar is said to have played his games of living chess with slave girls as pieces moving on the checkered pavement, Fergusson says, that nothing can be conceived so picturesque in outline, so richly carved without one touch of extravagance or false taste. Akbar's views on art were characteristic. One day he remarked to some friends: "There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, must come to feel that he cannot bestow personality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."

CHAPTER XX.

JAHANGIR.

1605-1627.

The Romance of Nurjahan.—Prince Salim, when he succeeded his father, assumed the name of Jahangir, the conqueror of the world. He began his rule with a crime to which he was led by an unhappy combination of circumstances. A young Persian lady, of poor though noble parents, was brought to Delhi, where she grew up and was considered the most beautiful woman in India. She was afterwards called Nurjahan (Light of the World) and sometimes Nurmahal (Light of the Palace). The Emperor, before mounting the throne, saw her and was smitten with her charms. The passion was mutual, but she was betrothed to one Sherafgan to whom she was subsequently married. Sherafgan received an appointment in Bengal. But Jahangir did not forget his first love, and by his command his Viceroy of Bengal made such proposals to the husband as incited him to violence; whereupon he was slain by the Viceroy's guard and his wife sent to Delhi. The Emperor offered her marriage; and though she declined to entertain the idea at first, her scruples were at length overcome, and she became queen, honoured by all and consulted by her husband upon all affairs of state. Her name was engraved upon the coinage with that of the Emperor.

Rebellion of Prince Khusru.—On Jahangir's accession, the heir-apparent Khusru, rebelled, seized Lahore, gave battle to the Emperor and was defeated. Khusru

was kept in confinement for the remainder of his life, but hundreds of his followers were impaled on stakes in a line, while Khusru was led past them.

Wars.—There were two important wars in the reign of Jahangir. (1) In Rajputana, prince Khusru, the Emperor's favourite son, conducted a campaign against the Rana of Udaipur and compelled him to submit. The Rana was treated with magnanimity; his kingdom was restored to him, and his son appointed to a high command in the imperial army.

(2) In the Deccan the affairs of Ahmednagar demanded the attention of the Moghuls. Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian, had distinguished himself there as a wise and just minister. Like the Marathas later on, he avoided pitched battles, intercepted supplies, harassed marches, and kept the Moghul armies continually in suspense. In 1610 he succeeded in capturing Ahmednagar. As the Moghul governor of the Deccan appeared incapable of putting him down, Jahangir sent Prince Khurram against him. He drove Malik Ambar out of Ahmednagar but he could not subdue him altogether, and Malik Ambar maintained his independence till his death in 1626.

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.—In the year 1616 Sir Thomas Roe arrived at the court of Jahangir as the ambassador of James I. Roe's description of the court, empire and character of Jahangir has been often quoted by later writers, and gives a most lively account of what he saw. The envoy travelled safely through the Deccan, and noticed the alternate prosperity and decay of the different cities through which he passed. After a stay of three years, Roe returned to England with nothing more than a complimentary letter to King James. He had been sent in the hope of obtaining more favourable terms for English traders at Surat and on the Western Coast, where English knives and broadcloth were exchanged for silk, pepper, cotton, etc.

The ambassador found seaports and customs full of gross abuses. The governor often seized on goods at arbitrary prices. His journey from Surat by Burhanpur and Chitor to Ajmere lay through the Deccan which bore marks of devastation and neglect. Burhanpur, once a great city, contained only four or five fine houses amidst a collection of mud huts. The administration of the country had declined since Akbar's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors were tyrannical. From a conversation with the viceroy of Pattan the ambassador learnt that he was an officer or mansabdar of the rank of five thousand horsemen nominally, but was expected to maintain a force of only 1500, which cost him three hundred thousand rupees thus making a profit of 700,000 rupees.

Last Years and Death.—Nurjahan had a daughter by her former husband, whom she married to Jahangir's fourth son, Shehriyar, for whom she tried to secure the succession. Khusru was dead and Khurram (afterwards Shahjahan) was induced to go on an expedition to recover Kandahar. Nurjahan called in Mahabat Khan, the governor of Kabul, to assist her in the coming strife, for Shahjahan was now driven into rebellion. Mahabat Khan defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Bengal. In course of time Mahabat Khan became the object of the jealousy of the Empress, and was forced to rebel in self-defence. He seized the Emperor's person when the latter was on his way to Kabul. Nurjahan now cleverly contrived his deliverance, while affecting submission to Mahabat's supremacy. Jahangir was restored to authority, while Mahabat joined with Shahjahan in his rebellion. A little later Jahangir was taken ill, on his way down from Kashmir, and died in 1627.

Character.—By day Jahangir was the picture of temperance ; by night he became exceeding 'glorious.' Jahangir carried his daylight sobriety so far as even to publish an edict against intemperance. He had a fine constitution, and a shrewd intelligence which he manifested in carrying on and continuing the system of government on the principle of toleration which marked the rule of Akbar. He followed his father in his policy towards the Hindus, and he was usually just when his passions were not aroused. The son of an eclectic father and a Rajput mother, he disliked persecution. He welcomed the Jesuit Fathers to his court and encouraged Christian artists to adorn the imperial palaces with pictures and statues of Christian saints. He is said to have had a chain and bell attached to his room, so that all who wished to appeal to him might ring him up without running the gauntlet of the officials.

CHAPTER XXI.

SHAHJAHAN.

1627 — 1658.

Disputed Succession.—Jahangir had left a will appointing Shehriyar his successor. Nurjahan attempted to give effect to it, but the death of her husband completely destroyed her influence. Shehriyar seized the royal treasure and was able to raise an army and fight a battle for the crown. Khurram was, however, supported by all the leading parties in the State, including the minister Asaf Khan, brother of Nurjahan, and father of Khurram's wife, Mumtaz Mahal. Shehriyar was defeated and put to death along with two sons of another brother who had joined him. All opposition was now ended and Khurram mounted the throne under the title of Shahjahan.

The Deccan.—Akbar had not succeeded in firmly securing the Deccan. The Mohammedan kings of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda refused to yield even a nominal supremacy to the Moghuls and were waiting for an opportunity to free themselves entirely from the yoke. Such an opportunity was offered by the revolt of an Afghan chief, Khan Jahan Lodi, who feeling insulted at some proceedings of Shahjahan left Agra at the head of 2000 troops. He made his way to the court of Ahmednagar where he was received with welcome by Malik Ambar. When the Moghul armies marched to the Deccan the Mohammedan kings, instead of combining together against the common enemy, allowed themselves to be crushed in detail. The king of

Golconda consented to pay tribute. Nizam Shah, king of Ahmednagar, so long as he was guided by Malik Ambar, offered resistance : but the choice of a new minister ended in the murder of the king and in the sacrifice of the independence of the kingdom. Mahomed Adil Shah obliged the Moghul general Mahabat Khan to raise the siege of Bijapur, but he too was ultimately obliged to yield. Shahjahan at last returned to his capital in triumph after having established his overlordship over all the Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan.

Loss of Kandahar.—During Jahangir's reign Kandahar had been seized by the king of Persia. The oppressive rule of Persia, however, drove the Persian governor to throw himself on the protection of Shahjahan, and to become a trusted servant of the Emperor. But subsequently Kandahar was reconquered by the Persians and was finally lost to the Moghul Empire.

The Sons of Shahjahan.—The old age of the Emperor was saddened by the unruly conduct of his four sons, Dara Shikoh, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad. Each was desirous of gaining the throne for himself and regarded the others with hatred and suspicion. Dara Shikoh, recognised as heir-apparent, resided at the capital, where he enjoyed the confidence of his father and relieved him from the cares of government. He was open and generous, but hasty and imprudent, and obnoxious to orthodox Mohammedans by his liberal religious views. Shuja possessed talents but gave himself up to pleasures and acquired the habits of a drunkard. Aurangzeb was a perfect adept in the art of dissimulation ; and his principles never stood in the way of his interest. Murad, the youngest, was dull in intellect, and gross in pleasures. The Emperor endeavoured to put an end to the jealousies and quarrels of his sons by sending each off to the governorship of a distant province ; Dara Shikoh to Kabul, Shuja to Bengal, Aurangzeb to the Deccan

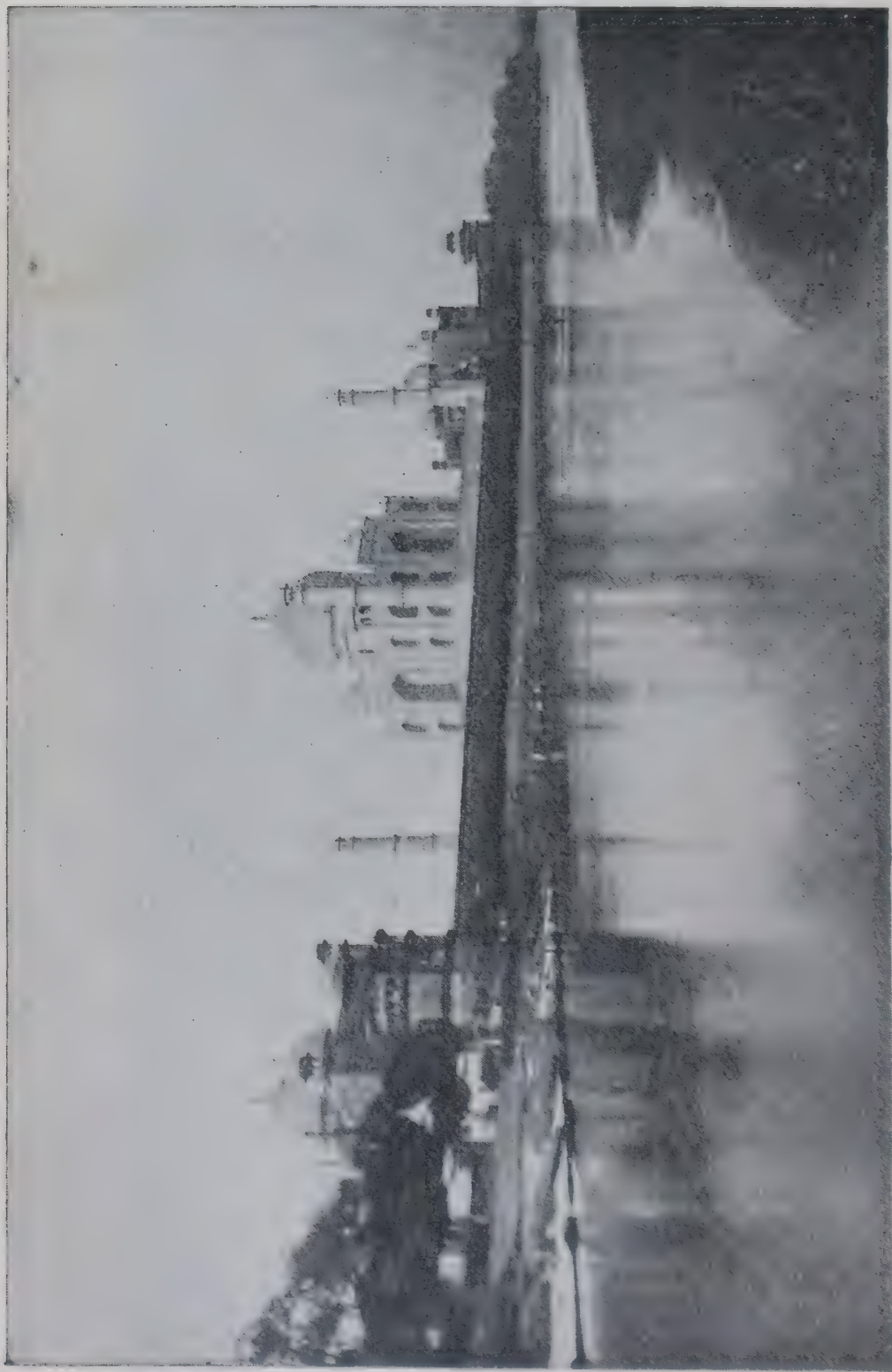
and Murad to Gujarat. While Aurangzeb was Viceroy of the Deccan he received an invitation from Mir Jumla, the Persian minister of the king of Golconda, to attack the territories of his master. Aurangzeb simulated a march to Bengal, and suddenly returning from Masulipatam attacked and took Hyderabad. The king, Abdulla, fled to the neighbouring fort of Golconda, and ultimately submitted, agreeing to pay a tribute to Delhi. Aurangzeb was engaged in a fresh attack on Bijapur when he was recalled to Delhi by the news of the illness of his father.

Fratricidal War.—When the Emperor fell ill, he handed over the reins of Government to his eldest son, Dara Shikoh, a high spirited but arrogant and haughty prince, whose loose and liberal views had brought on him the disfavour of the orthodox Mohammedans. Aurangzeb, to get an advantage over Dara Shikoh, proclaimed himself a staunch Mohammedan, and wrote a letter to Murad, in which he declared that he was his well-wisher, that his only object was to place Murad on the throne, and that he would retire to Mecca to spend there a life of devotion after destroying Dara Shikoh, the infidel. The brothers now advanced with their combined forces, defeating Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, an ally of Dara Shikoh, at Ujjain, and Dara Shikoh himself in another battle near Agra. Aurangzeb and Murad thereafter marched to Agra and imprisoned Shahjahan. Next month Murad was plied with wine and confined in the fortress of Gwalior. Aurangzeb now assumed the conduct of affairs under the title of 'Alamgir,' conqueror of the world. Dara Shikoh and Shuja still remained to be dealt with. He sent his friend Mir Jumla, and followed himself with a large army, against Shuja. The brothers met near Allahabad, and after a severe conflict Shuja was compelled to retreat. He fled to Bengal and thence to Arakan. Nothing is known of his ultimate



MOTI MUSJID, AGRA.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.



THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.

fate. Dara Shikoh, on the other hand, passed from Lahore to Multan and to Gujarat, where he effected an alliance with Jaswant Singh. He was ultimately delivered into the hands of Aurangzeb, who put him to death as an infidel.

Character of Shahjahan.—Shahjahan was the most popular of all the great Moghul rulers. He was always accessible to his people, though he was the most stately of monarchs. He was a man of sound judgment and knowledge of the world. The French traveller Tavernier writes in flattering terms of the rule of this Emperor, saying that it resembled that of a father over his children and refers to the firm administration of justice and the universal sense of security. Many of his generals were Hindus and his great minister Sad-Allah, though a convert, was a Hindu, by birth. The tolerant spirit of his rule may be judged from the fact that Jesuit missionaries laboured at Agra, and had at that city a large and fair church with a great steeple and bell, heard all over the town. The Portuguese at Hugli, however, met with a different treatment, perhaps on account of their piratical habits.

Public Works.—The outward signs of Shahjahan's government were worthy of its internal greatness. He rebuilt and adorned old Delhi, and constructed its great mosque and palace; but it is as the builder of the Taj Mahal that he is best known to the world. This glorious building stands upon a terrace overlooking the Jumna, and beneath its white marble cupola are the remains of Mumtaz Mahal, the favourite queen of Shahjahan. Inside the lofty hall the walls are decorated by mosaics of flowers made of jasper, cornelian, jade, lapis lazuli and other stones. The whole effect is one of combined grandeur and beauty, and of such simplicity as becomes a tomb.

CHAPTER XXII.

AURANGZEB.

1658 — 1707.

The Emperor and his Court.—The new Emperor was an orthodox Mohammedan of the Suni sect. His religious beliefs determined his public policy and private conduct. He has been called a hypocrite without sufficient reason. He was earnest and sincere, though he might have been harsh and illiberal. He was scrupulously just and hard-working; and he is sometimes described “as a mild and painstaking judge, easy of approach and gentle of manner.” His great crime was that he was ready to use any means to gain his end; and his punishment was that throughout his life he was racked by suspicion of his officers and his own children. Elphinstone says he would have been a great king, had he not had a heart cold and calculating, a stranger to all generous impulses. On the other hand, the historian Khafi Khan says that “in devotion, austerity and justice, in courage, patience and sound judgment, he was without peer.”

Aurangzeb sometimes lived at Agra, but Delhi was the chief capital. Of the court at Delhi we have an interesting description by the French traveller Bernier: “The king appeared in the most magnificent attire, seated upon his throne at the end of the great hall. His vest was of white and delicately flowered stain, with a silk and golden embroidery of the finest texture. The turban of gold cloth was ornamented with diamonds of an extraordinary size. At the foot of the throne were assembled all the nobles surrounded by a silver rail. The floors were covered with



AURANGZEB.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.



SIVAJI.

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carpets of the richest silk." On his birthday the Emperor was weighed against gold and jewels which were thrown among the people, who were afterwards treated to the sight of an elephant fight.

Assam and Arakan.—The early years of Aurangzeb's reign were years of peace on the whole, except for the wars connected with Assam and Arakan. Finding Mir Jumla growing in power and influence, Aurangzeb appointed him Viceroy of Bengal. Two years after his appointment, Mir Jumla led an army into Assam and occupied the capital. He was soon compelled to retreat and reached Dacca only with a few followers. He died shortly afterwards (1663).

Aurangzeb's uncle, Shayista Khan was sent to Bengal as the successor of Mir Jumla, and he governed the province till his death in 1694. Early in his rule he cleared out the Portuguese and other pirates from the neighbourhood of Chittagong. He then sent an expedition against the king of Arakan, who had helped the pirates, and compelled him to cede the Chittagong territory.

Treatment of the Hindus.—Now that Aurangzeb found himself securely established on the throne, he began a series of attacks on the Hindus whom he looked on as idolatrous infidels. He revived the use of the Mohammedan lunar year, suppressed gaming houses and liquor shops, and forbade the performances of dancing girls and musicians. He ordered the governors of provinces "to destroy the schools and temples of the infidels." Besides these measures, he altered the incidence of taxation, by reducing the customs claims against the Mohammedans by one half. He reimposed the *jizya*, the poll-tax on all infidels. He forbade the compilation of historical records, a measure which has prevented future generations from profiting by his errors. He even issued orders to all his principal officers for the general exclusion of Hindus from appointments.

Rajput Revolt.—These measures had the effect of creating general disaffection among the Hindus and of strengthening their sympathy with the Marathas : and when to these insults was added injury of an attempt on the part of the Emperor to seize the children of Jaswant Singh of Marwar, apparently with the object of bringing them up as Mohammedans, a flame of resentment was kindled in Rajputana. Marwar and Mewar joined hands, and Prince Akbar, the fourth son of the Emperor, who was sent to suppress the rising, went over to the enemy. But Aurangzeb's diplomacy was too much for him : the armies melted away ; the Rana of Mewar made an honourable peace, and Raja Jaswant Singh's son was recognised as chief of Marwar. But though the Rajputs were subdued, they were lost to the Empire which they had served so loyally and devotedly under Akbar. Henceforth they were an ever-present source of weakness, danger and anxiety to the Empire.

Affairs in the Deccan.—As early as 1666 the Emperor had made a treaty with Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, by which he agreed to pay him the *chauth* or a fourth of the revenue of certain districts and to give his son a command of 5,000. Relying on this treaty Sivaji proceeded to Delhi to seek an interview with Aurangzeb. Here he met with a reception such as could not but humiliate him. His requests for leave to return were refused or answered evasively : but with his usual cunning he managed to be conveyed out of the imperial city in a hamper, and made good his escape to his capital of Raigarh in the Konkan, in the garb of a *sanyasi*. Sivaji now made himself master of the Southern Konkan, invaded the Moghul provinces of Khandesh, Berar and Gujarat, took Jinji, Vellore and other places, and arranged a division of Maratha territories with his brother. When Aurangzeb renewed his attacks on Bijapur in 1679 Sivaji responded to the invitation for help against the Moghuls. He died, however, in 1680 and was succeeded by Sambhaji.

Aurangzeb now determined to complete the conquest of Southern India, and marched in person to the South. The kingdom of Golconda was in confusion. The king, Abul Hasan, had confided the conduct of affairs to a Brahmin minister who, on the approach of Prince Muazzim's army, was murdered in a fight. The king fled to the fort of Golconda, Hyderabad was burnt and plundered, and the king purchased peace at the price of a heavy ransom (1685).

It was now Bijapur's turn to face the imperial forces. The city underwent all the horrors of a siege, till it was taken and sacked (1686). Regardless of all treaty obligations the Emperor then suddenly attacked Golconda, which was bravely defended during a siege of seven months, and then only taken by treachery (1687).

The Marathas.—The Marathas still remained unsubdued. Mounted on hardy ponies, they were able to move with a quickness which entirely baffled the Imperial forces. At last, however, in 1689 Sambhaji fell into Aurangzeb's hands, and was put to death on refusing to embrace Islam. But the prolonged struggle that followed between the Marathas and the Imperial armies exhausted the resources of the Empire without bringing to it any profit. The degenerate Moghul armies found their helplessness aggravated by the system of divided command inspired by Aurangzeb's jealousy and suspicions. Revolts broke out among the Rajputs, the Jats and the Sikhs. The Marathas recovered one by one the forts of which they were deprived. The troops of the Emperor, in default of payment, began to display a mutinous spirit and deserted. As the Imperial army declined in number and efficiency, the Marathas increased in daring, and commenced to hem it in and press it hard. Broken in spirit and bowed with age and misfortune the Emperor retreated to Ahmednagar, where he died in 1707, in the fiftieth year of his reign.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE.

1707—1761.

Bahadur Shah (Shah Alam I.)—1707–12.—Aurangzeb had declared by his will that, of his sons, Muazzim or Shah Alam should have the northern and eastern provinces, while Azim should have all the country to the south and south-west of Agra, with the exception of Golconda and Bijapur which were given to Kambakhsh. A war followed between the brothers, in which the eldest was victorious, and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. Finding it unavailing to continue the struggle with the Marathas, the Emperor allowed them to exact *chauth* from the Moghul territories in the Deccan. He granted also virtual independence to the Rajput princes in return for a guarantee of peace.

The Sikhs.—He now turned his attention to the Sikhs, a religious sect founded by a reformer Nanak in the fifteenth century. Nanak refused to recognise caste distinctions, and preached universal toleration, the unity of the Godhead, and the necessity for a pure life. One of his later successors, Guru Govind Singh, formed his followers into a religious and military association each member of which was to be a soldier, always to wear steel about his person, and never to shave. The persecution the Sikhs underwent at last led them to rebel under a chief called Banda, in the Punjab. They destroyed mosques, slew priests, sacked



NANAK.

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NADIR SHAH.

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towns and massacred the inhabitants. Bahadur Shah proceeded against them in person, and placed a check for some time upon their aggressions, when his short reign was brought to an end by his death in 1712.

Jahandar Shah (1712-1713); Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719).—After the usual war of succession, his eldest son Jahandar Shah ascended the throne with the help of Zulfikar Khan, whom he appointed his minister. He was a profligate emperor who lost all sympathy with his nobles by promoting to the highest ranks the relatives of his mistress. His nephew Farrukhsiyar, supported by the brothers, Sayyid Husain Ali and Sayyid Abdullah, governors of Bihar and Allahabad respectively, rebelled, defeated the Emperor, and placed himself on the throne. For some time the Sayyid brothers enjoyed the position of king-makers. The Sikhs who were again active were defeated, their leader Banda was captured and executed, and his followers were hunted down like wild beasts (1715). The Emperor Farrukhsiyar, having endeavoured to rid himself of his protectors, was quietly strangled to death in 1719, and two young princes were elevated to the throne, who died within a few months. The Sayyids then raised to the throne another who was crowned under the title of Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Shah (1719-1748)—The Independence of the Deccan—The Nizam.—Amongst the insurrections which broke out on all sides under the government of the Sayyids was that which led to the establishment of a powerful kingdom in the Deccan. Chin Kilich Khan, better known as Asaf Jah, the son of a favourite officer of Aurangzeb, defeated two armies sent against him by the brothers, openly defied the power of the Emperor and made himself independent in his old viceroyalty of the Deccan. He thus founded the line of the Nizams, with effect from 1724.

Independence of Oudh—Fall of the Sayyids.—

About the same time Saadat Ali Khan, governor of Oudh, likewise made himself practically independent. Muhammad Shah now determined to shake off the tutelage which he had supported with difficulty since his accession. Husain Ali was assassinated in his palanquin by a pretended petitioner. His brother Abdullah attempted to maintain the falling fortunes of his house, but was defeated by the Emperor in a battle fought between Delhi and Agra.

The growth of Maratha Power.—During this reign the Marathas occupied Malwa and Gujarat, defeated the combined forces of the Emperor and Nizam-ul-Mulk (Asaf Jah) at Bhopal, and compelled them to sign a treaty by which the Moghul government agreed to pay *chauth* to the Marathas to prevent their incursions.

Invasion of Nadir Shah, 1739.—About 1736 the throne of Persia was seized by Nadir Shah, a soldier of fortune. Elated by his success, he turned to India, under pretext of redressing grievances of which he complained. At Karnal he defeated the imperial forces under Saadat Ali and Asaf Jah. Muhammad Shah submitted and the conqueror entered Delhi. The victorious troops were at first held in check, and the city was protected, but when the populace insulted and attacked them, Nadir Shah let loose his soldiers, to burn, plunder and slay. It is believed that 30,000 persons were slain, though some historians have made the number 160,000. Bloodshed and rapine raged till the Persian king ordered its cessation, by the request, it is said, of the Emperor himself who with tears in his eyes entreated the conqueror to spare his subjects. The Persian ruler now seized the treasures of Delhi and the world-famed peacock throne of Shahjahan. After a stay of fifty-eight days he departed for his country, placing Muhammad Shah again upon his throne, but compelling him to cede to the conqueror all the provinces beyond the Indus.

Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Third Battle of Panipat (1761).—Nadir Shah was soon murdered and succeeded by a chief of the Abdali or Durrani clan of the Afghans, who took the title of Ahmad Shah. He followed in the step of Nadir Shah and invaded India, but in his first attempt he was defeated at Sirhind (1748). A month after Muhammad Shah died and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah, during whose reign a fresh invasion by the Abdali chief resulted in the loss of the Punjab to the already crumbling Moghul Empire. Delhi was torn by rival factions : an ambitious nobleman Ghazi-ud-din dethroned the Emperor, blinded him and cast him into prison, and set up in his place a son of Jahandar Shah, under the title of Alamgir II. (1754). The treacherous seizure of the governor of the Punjab, representative of the Afghan ruler of Persia, led a third invasion of India by Ahmad Shah, who sacked Delhi and repeated the horrors of Nadir Shah's massacres. The advent of the hot season compelled him to return to his own country. He left behind him a Rohilla chief, Najib-ud-daula, in command at Delhi, but hardly had he departed when Ghazi-ud-din II., son of Ghazi-ud-din, called in the Marathas to enable him to contend against Najib-ud-daula. The Rohilla chief was expelled, Ghazi-ud-din became minister at Delhi, while the Marathas seized Lahore, took possession of the Punjab, threatened Oudh, and openly avowed the design of conquering all Hindustan. The Mohammedan princes were thinking of combining to prevent this design, when in 1759 Ahmad Shah for the fourth time invaded the Punjab. Ghazi-ud-din, fearing a friendly settlement between Alamgir II. and the invader, put the former to death. Ahmad Shah defeated the Marathas under Sindhia and Holkar in two separate engagements, and when Sedasheo Rao Bhao after capturing Delhi advanced to Panipat with the whole Maratha host, the Abdali ruler inflicted a crushing defeat in which most of the Maratha chiefs fell (1761).

The dynasty of the Peshwas and the monarchy of the Moghuls were alike extinguished by this battle. The Moghul Empire was broken up into independent States ; and the nominal emperors of a once powerful monarchy became the fugitive dependents on the Marathas or Afghans even for their personal safety.

Subsequent History of the Moghul Dynasty.—

Shah Alam II. became nominal Emperor on the assassination of Alamgir II. He endeavoured to regain Bengal, but was defeated and induced to grant the *Diwani* of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company in 1765. The Company agreed in turn to pay him twenty-six lakhs of Rupees a year and gave him Kora and Allahabad on condition of his remaining under British protection. For some years Shah Alam remained at Allahabad ; but finding his allies averse to seating him on the throne of Delhi he left the British protection and threw himself into the hands of the Marathas, in the hope of gratifying this empty vanity.

The English thereupon stopped his pension and sold Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab of Oudh (1772). Shah Alam got back his throne, but it proved a bed of thorns. In 1788 he was imprisoned and blinded by Ghulam Kadir. When in 1803 the English got possession of Delhi they freed him and granted him a pension till his death in 1806. On his death Akbar II., his son, was acknowledged Emperor and inherited his father's pension. On Akbar's death in 1837 the same privileges were granted to his son Bahadur Shah II. But Bahadur Shah joined the rebels in the Mutiny of 1857, and he was banished to Rangoon, where he died in 1862.

BOOK IV.

THE MARATHAS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RISE OF THE MARATHAS UNDER SIVAJI.

The Maratha Race.—Before the times of Sivaji the Marathas had attracted very little attention. They were a race of cultivators living in the hilly districts between Goa and Surat, and the western extremity of the Deccan plateau, mostly within the domains of Ahmednagar and Bijapur, while these two monarchies were flourishing. The country, studded over with natural fortresses and protected by forests and mountains, was admirably adapted to be the abode of a nation of warriors and adventurers. Such the Marathas were from early times. Strong, active and daring, they were ever on the alert to pursue their own interests. Descending suddenly into the plains they spread destruction on every side, and before they could be overtaken, they hastened back laden with booty to their mountain refuge. The Mohammedan sovereigns of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda naturally endeavoured to turn their military qualities to account by employing them as soldiers. In this way many acquired distinction and rose to officers of trust. When Malik Ambar was minister of Ahmednagar, he had under his authority and in his employ two Maratha soldiers, Maloji Bhonsla and Jadu Rao. Jadu Rao had attained to a command of 10,000 men, and Maloji was subordinate to him. Shahji Bhonsla, son of the latter, who was married to Jadu's daughter, took a prominent part in the war which extinguished the independence of Ahmednagar, and though

he belonged to the losing party he managed so well for himself as to become master of all the western portion of that kingdom between the capital and the sea. These lands and the services of Shahji now belonged to the kingdom of Bijapur.

Sivaji: Early Career.—Sivaji, the second son of Shahji, born in 1627, was left at Poona with a Brahmin Dadaji Konda who during Shahji's absence managed his Bijapur *jagir*. The training which the youth received determined his future character. He was trained in horsemanship, hunting and military exercises: his principal associates were the horsemen retained in his father's service or the mountaineers inhabiting the neighbouring Ghats. From such companions he imbibed an early love of adventure, which was increased by his fondness for listening to the ballads of his country. He soon shook off the authority of Dadaji, and was suspected of being in league with marauding parties. He gathered round him a body of Maratha followers, and finding that some of the hill forts belonging to Bijapur, were carelessly guarded, at the age of nineteen he made himself master of one of them—Torna, to the south-west of Poona. When the Bijapur government complained to Shahji, he remonstrated with his son; but Sivaji threw off the paternal authority, and seized two forts situated within his father's *jagir*. He then openly defied the king of Bijapur, captured a convoy of royal treasure and a number of hill forts in the Ghats.

The king of Bijapur now made Shahji a prisoner, but, Sivaji offered his sword and services to Shahjahan, and thus obtained his interposition in his father's behalf. Sivaji continued his policy of encroachment. When Aurangzeb arrived in the Deccan, he confirmed the Maratha chief in all his acquisitions; but when the Moghul was engaged in a war with Golconda, Sivaji turned his absence to account and made an inroad on Moghul territories. The sudden

illness of Shahjahan saved Sivaji from Aurangzeb's vengeance. The throne of Bijapur was now occupied by a minor ; and the regent, alarmed at the inroads of the Maratha chief, raised a large army giving the command to a Mohammedan noble, Afzal Khan. Sivaji, pretending to be overawed by terror, induced Afzal Khan to a private interview, took him unawares, and stabbed him to the heart with hooks of steel, while his panic-stricken army perished by the sword or sought safety in flight (1659). In the following years the Bijapur court sent armies in vain against the bands of Sivaji's followers ; and so was at last obliged to come to terms with Shahji.

Sivaji and the Moghuls.—Sivaji now turned his arms against the Moghuls. Shayista Khan, the imperial general, who was sent by Aurangzeb to crush Sivaji, captured Poona. Sivaji contrived to enter the town along with a marriage procession, and nearly succeeded in seizing the Khan. He followed up his success by looting Surat (1664). Sivaji now set himself up as an independent sovereign, making Raigarh, near Poona, his capital, coining money and assuming the title of Raja. This so enraged Aurangzeb that a fresh army was dispatched against him. Sivaji submitted, and a treaty (called the Treaty of Purandhar) was made by which he was obliged to surrender more than half his forts, and to hold the remainder as a *jagir* from the Moghul. Sivaji then went as a guest to Delhi, but was so coldly received that he returned to the Deccan in indignation.

His return to the Deccan.—The story of his return to the Deccan has been romantically described. We are told that when Sivaji accompanied by his son proceeded to Delhi and found themselves treated like the inferior commanders of the Moghul armies, Sivaji feigned sickness, and in order to lull suspicion sent back his escort of 500 horse and 1000 foot. He then found means of communication with his friends through some Hindu physicians. He

constantly made presents of sweetmeats and provisions to fakirs and others which were conveyed in large baskets and hampers : and one evening he got himself and his son conveyed in such baskets. The flight was not detected till he and his son were safe from pursuit. After his return to the Deccan he attained a formal recognition of his title of Raja from Aurangzeb through the mediation of Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar and the grant of a new *jagir* in Berar (1667).

Further Maratha Progress.—Sivaji now overawed Bijapur and Golconda, obtaining from them the fourth and the tenth of their territorial revenues. By this time the new Raja found his kingdom somewhat in disorder, and spent two years in arranging and settling it.

Aurangzeb's friendliness was short-lived. War was renewed between the Moghuls and the Marathas. Sivaji captured a number of forts, including Singarh near Poona, and again ravaged the Moghul territory as far as Surat, which he plundered for the second time. Aurangzeb made several changes in the command of the Deccan which gave the Marathas opportunities for extending their territories. They ravaged the Moghul provinces of Berar and Khandesh, captured Cuddapah, and Jinji, and overran Vellore, Mysore and Tanjore. In 1680 they made a dash at Bijapur and cut off the supplies of the Moghul Empire. It was in this last expedition that Sivaji fell ill and died (1680).

Character of Sivaji.—Sivaji died at the age of fifty-three, but he had lived long enough to produce great political changes and become the founder of an empire. Originally little better than an adventurer, he showed wonderful sagacity in profiting by every opening that presented itself ; and when brought face to face with the Moghul Emperor, he not only maintained an equal contest but often gained decided advantages. When Aurangzeb entered upon a sort of Mohammedan crusade against his Hindu subjects, Sivaji

met him on his own ground, and taking Hinduism under his protection gave it once more a national ascendancy. In pursuing his objects he was no doubt sometimes unscrupulous; but it may be said for him that his enemies were worse than he, that he was never wantonly cruel, and that he sacrificed principles only when he thought that sound policy required it.

Administration.—Sivaji used to pay his soldiers monthly salaries from his treasury, and never allowed them to fall into arrears. The institution, known as *chauth*, dates from the last invasion of the Moghul territory by Sivaji. He demanded one-fourth of the revenue of the invaded provinces—a payment in consideration of which the invaded districts received a sort of guarantee against further Maratha interference. The affairs of the Maratha kingdom were managed by the Raja, assisted by a council of eight *pradhans* or ministers, of whom the Peshwa was the head. Justice was administered by *panchayats* in accordance with Hindu law.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SUCCESSORS OF SIVAJI.

THE RISE OF THE PESHWAS.

Sambhaji.—1680–1689.—Sambhaji, the son of Sivaji, was a different man from his father. A debauchee from his youth, he was a prisoner in the fort of Panala when his father died. A party was formed with a view to place a second son, Raja Ram, on the throne; but Sambhaji got notice of it, took possession of the fort of Panala, entered Raigarh, and ascended the throne; killing many who had plotted against him, amongst others, the mother of Raja Ram. The disaffection thus produced was increased by his harsh treatment of his father's ministers. Had the Moghuls been commanded by a really good general at this time, the Marathas might have been effectively crushed. Sambhaji spent the first years of his reign in attempts to conquer Janjira, to the south of Bombay, which had defied even the power of his father. In 1683 he turned against the Moghuls and defeated Prince Muazzim who had been sent to the Konkan. The Marathas ravaged the country in the rear of the Moghul army and burnt the city of Burhanpur. The Moghul and Maratha armies now parted company. Muazzim plundered Hyderabad and made a treaty with Golconda. The Marathas marched to the north and plundered Broach. Later still, Aurangzeb destroyed the kingdom of Bijapur, and then broke the peace with Golconda. While Aurangzeb was thus pursuing his victorious career, the Maratha state had fallen into disorder. The revenue diminished; the proceeds of plunder no longer reached the

treasury ; and the money which Sivaji had hoarded gradually disappeared. The Moghul armies overran the open country belonging to the Marathas and were preparing to attack the forts when Sambhaji fell a prisoner into the hands of Aurangzeb who barbarously executed him on his refusing to adopt the Mohammedan faith (1689).

Raja Ram.—1689–1700.—On Sambhaji's death, his son Sivaji II., a minor, was raised to the throne, and Sambhaji's brother Raja Ram became regent. A Maratha chief betrayed Raigarh into the hands of the Moghul general, and Sivaji II. and his mother were taken prisoners. Aurangzeb kept them in confinement. He used to call Sivaji and Sambhaji thieves, so he called the youthful Sivaji by the name of *Sahu*, or honest man, by which name Sivaji II. is known in history. One by one all the hill forts of the Marathas fell into the hands of the Moghuls. In this extremity the regent Raja Ram fled to the fortress of Jinji, in the Carnatic, ordering the troops to disperse in their villages. The leading Maratha chiefs made a feigned submission to the Moghuls. The subjugation of the Deccan being thus apparently complete, Aurangzeb sent his general, Zulfikar Khan, to besiege Jinji. Raja Ram, who had now begun to govern in his own name, prepared for a vigorous defence. Two Maratha leaders, Santajee and Danajee, carried fire and destruction through the Deccan, attacking convoys and isolated detachments, while Zulfikar Khan wasted his forces before Jinji. He applied for reinforcements, but was refused ; and Prince Kambakhsh was sent to supersede him. This so incensed the general that he resolved to protract the siege, and it was not till 1698 that the fort fell into the hands of the Moghuls. Raja Ram escaped.

Dissensions now broke out amongst the Maratha chiefs, Danajee brought matters to a crisis by murdering Santajee with his own hands. Raja Ram made Satara the capital of the Maratha kingdom, and took the field against the

Moghuls led by Aurangzeb. The Emperor took Satara and other hill forts; Raja Ram pursued by the Moghuls reached Singarh, where he died of exhaustion, in 1700.

Tara Bai as Regent.—1700–1708.—On the death of Raja Ram his widow Tara Bai acted as regent for her infant son Sivaji III. Aurangzeb continued his struggle against the Marathas, while the queen-regent passed from hill-fort to hill-fort, exhorting Maratha chiefs to do their best to save their country. When Aurangzeb died in 1707 his armies in the Deccan had slowly dwindled and the Marathas had reconquered a large number of forts. Sahu, who was now set at liberty by the Moghuls, advanced to Satara to claim the throne. Tara Bai fought till her followers deserted her; and Sahu ascended the throne in 1708.

Civil War.—A civil war now broke out between the followers of Tara Bai and the adherents of Sahu. In 1712 Tara Bai's son died, and her adherents raised Sambhaji II., a son of Raja Ram by another wife, to the throne. The war continued. Sayyid Husain Ali, one of the Sayyid brothers, made a treaty with Sahu in 1717, acknowledging him as the king of the Marathas. This gave Sahu a moral authority in the Maratha country of which he did not fail to avail himself. Sambhaji still continued the civil war, with his capital at Kolhapur. The war was brought to an end in 1730 when Sahu recognised Kolhapur as an independent kingdom. Sahu died in 1748; but long before that time the power of the Maratha state had passed into the hands of the Peshwas.

Rise of the Peshwas.—**Balaji Visvanath.**—1714–1720.—Balaji Visvanath, the first of the Peshwas, was a Konkan Brahmin, who had distinguished himself about this period by his ability in collecting revenue. His talents and address soon raised him to high consideration with Raja Sahu, whose object was to re-establish order and cement

his power by a conciliatory system rather than to lead his countrymen to predatory campaigns. He succeeded in extricating his master from a quarrel with Angria, and induced that chief to own his supremacy. Sahu was so pleased with him that he raised him to the dignity of Peshwa (chief minister), the second office in the state, the first being that of *pratinidhi* or delegate of the Raja. Balaji soon engrossed the whole power. He ruled successfully, but rather as a legislator than as a warrior. He contrived, by ties of common interest, to unite together the somewhat discordant elements of which the Maratha confederacy was composed, and to fit them for those united efforts which afterwards made them so formidable. He introduced order into the finances, encouraged agriculture, and brought all the branches of the government into a regular system.

It was mainly through his exertions that in 1717, in the reign of Farrukhsiyar, Sahu obtained from Husain Ali, the Sayyid, a treaty by which the Moghul Emperor acknowledged Sahu's claim to the whole of the territory formerly possessed by Sivaji, agreed to allow the levy of the *chauth* over the whole of the Deccan, and permitted a further levy of one-tenth on the remaining revenue, under the name of *sirdesmukhi*. The fall of the Sayyid left the relation of the Marathas towards the Moghuls unchanged, so that three years later Balaji was able to obtain a ratification of the treaty of 1717 by Muhammad Shah.

Balaji's Character and Administration.—A Brahmin by birth Balaji rose from the lowest ranks to the highest office in the State. It was by his wits that he rose to a position of power and it was through his wits that Sahu found himself no longer a mere vassal of the empire but an independent ruler. In the organisation of the revenue system of the Marathas he preferred the levying of indefinite dues, like the *chauth* and the *sirdesmukhi*, to a solid territorial possession. Nor did he consolidate these dues under

one head. He knew that the Marathas would be gainers in all disputed points with the Moghuls, and his desire was to secure to the Marathas a kind of pretext for permanent interference and encroachment over extensive territories. It was not in his dealings with the Moghuls alone that he profited by keeping up this system of confusion. He granted the *chauth* and *sirdesmukhi* to different persons, and parcelled out the revenues of every district among Maratha chiefs. Thus each chieftain had an interest in increasing the revenue; but none was in a position to render himself independent of government.

Baji Rao.—1720–1740.—On the death of Balaji, in 1720, his eldest son, Baji Rao, succeeded him as Peshwa. He employed the Maratha chiefs far off from Satara in collecting *chauth* under orders from the Satara government. He thus not only prevented them from creating disturbances, but also made them loyal to the central government. The chiefs who acquired distinction at this time were Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranaji Sindhia, Peelajee Gaikwar and Parsaji Bhonsla of Nagpur. Their successors were gradually to make themselves independent of the Peshwa.

Extension of Maratha Power.—Sahu had committed all power to Baji Rao. Baji Rao now ravaged Malwa, and wrung from the Moghuls a grant of the *chauth* and *sirdesmukhi*. He then devastated Gujarat, and left the infant son of Sambhaji, Sahu's rival, under the guardianship of his mother on condition of payment of half the produce of the territories to the government. Peelajee Gaikwar, the ancestor of the present royal family of Gujarat, was left to administer his territories for the infant prince. In 1732 Baji Rao entered Malwa in person, which was ceded to him in 1734 with the tacit consent of the Moghul Emperor. In 1737 he invaded the districts about the Jumna and appeared suddenly before Delhi, but retired without attacking it. Muhammad Shah, the Moghul Emperor, sent Asaf Jah,

better known as Nizam-ul-Mulk against him. He was however defeated by Baji Rao, near Bhopal, and forced to cede Malwa and all the territory between the Nerbudda and the Chambal. He further wrung from him a promise to pay him fifty lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Delhi.

In 1739, when Nadir Shah was engaged in plundering Delhi, Baji Rao and his brothers wrested the islands of Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese. The Nizam, according to his promise, surrendered Malwa and the other provinces to Baji Rao, who divided the country between his generals Ranaji Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar. This is the origin of those two great families whose descendants still rule Malwa as feudatory princes of the British Empire. Baji Rao died in 1740, after having considerably extended the boundaries of Maratha dominion. He has been called the greatest of the Peshwas. But the Maratha power had become too vast for one man to wield, and the dissensions and quarrels that broke out amongst the Maratha chiefs foreshadowed coming events.

Character of Baji Rao.—Born in camp and trained as a statesman and diplomatist Baji Rao combined the habits of a Maratha horseman with an extensive knowledge of man and manners and an enlarged judgment. Far sighted as he was he could see that the hordes of horsemen accustomed to plunder and adventures, and useful in the enemy's country, would be utterly uncontrollable at home. He could see that safety and tranquillity in internal government could be secured only by an aggressive policy of encroachment and enlargement of Maratha territories, which would keep the hordes occupied and bring them under military discipline. His temper was ardent and his manner frank; he never flinched from fatigue or danger, and could make a meal of dry grain rubbed out of the husks between his hands as he rode along on a march.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BALAJI BAJI RAO.

1740 — 1761.

Struggle with Raghuji Bhonsla.—The office of Peshwa was by this time nearly established as hereditary, and the eldest son of Baji Rao, who prefixed to his father's name that of Balaji, succeeded him as Peshwa. Raghuji Bhonsla, the founder of the Nagpur family, was his most formidable enemy; and he would have disputed the succession, but he was absent with his army in the Carnatic. The new Peshwa was exceedingly popular. Shortly after his accession, the Peshwa obtained from Raja Sahu the exclusive right of collecting the Maratha dues from all the countries to the north of the Nerbudda. Raghuji now sent an expedition into Bengal, defeated Ali Vardi Khan, the Moghul governor, and obtained two crores and a half of rupees by plunder. The Moghul Emperor hereupon begged Balaji to save Bengal. Balaji was only too glad; he went to Ali Vardi's help. Raghuji was forced to retire; and in turn the Emperor granted Balaji the Subahdarship of Malwa. Though baulked of his ambition to conquer Bengal Raghuji eventually succeeded in obtaining the right of levying *chaauth* over the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Events on the Death of Raja Sahu.—Sahu died in 1748, and was succeeded by Raja Ram, a lineal descendant of Sivaji. Balaji's enemies endeavoured to dislodge him from his post; but Balaji produced a deed signed by Sahu confirming him in his office of Peshwa. The seat of government was now removed from Satara to Poona.

Maratha Successes.—1751-60.—The decade between 1751-1760 forms the most brilliant period in the annals of Maratha history.

(1) Raghuji Bhonsla overran Orissa and Bengal, secured Kuttack and Balasore and wrested from the Nizam extensive districts. (2) Holkar subdued Bundelkhand. (3) Damaji Gaikwar invaded Gujarat and captured Ahmabad. (4) The Peshwa invaded Mysore and the Carnatic and levied tribute. (5) On the death of the Nizam in 1748 Nasir Jang, the second son, assumed the Subahdarship of the Deccan, the eldest son Ghazi-ud-din being commander-in-chief at Delhi. Towards the close of 1750 Nasir Jang was stabbed to death, and his sister's son Muzaffar was also assassinated in 1751. Hereupon Salabat Jang, the third son of the Nizam, assumed the Subahdarship. The Peshwa supported the cause of Ghazi-ud-din. Ahmednagar was betrayed to the Marathas in 1759, and the forces of Salabat Jung were defeated at Udgir in 1760. A treaty was concluded by which the Marathas received Daulatabad, Asirgarh, Bijapur and Aurungabad. (6) The English settlement at Calcutta was often threatened by the Marathas.

The Third Battle of Panipat, 1761.—Ahmad Shah Abdali had obtained the Punjab in 1752, but in his absence Ghazi-ud-din induced Raghunath Rao (Raghoba), brother of the Peshwa, to join him in an attempt to recover the Punjab. Raghoba invaded the province and captured Lahore in 1758. The wrath of the Abdali chief was roused and he returned to India in 1761 to drive away the Marathas. He met them at Panipat and defeated them. Almost all the great Maratha chiefs were killed or wounded, with the exception of Malhar Rao Holkar, who was accused of having retreated too early from the field of battle, Mahadaji Sindhia who was lamed for life, and Nana Farnavis who escaped by flight. A letter communicated the news of the defeat to the Peshwa in the following words: "Two pearls have

been dissolved ; twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." These words respectively referred to Sadasheo Bhao and Viswas Rao, the Maratha generals to the officers and the soldiers. Henceforth the Marathas were no more a united nation, acting under the authority of the Peshwa. Their hopes of becoming paramount in India were shattered for ever. The defeat at Panipat led to the death of the Peshwa who died of a broken heart.

Character and Administration.—Under Balaji the Maratha power was at its highest. He was personally lazy, sensual, and dissipated, but kind-hearted and charitable. He had great address, polished manners, and considerable political sagacity as well as cunning. In his time, in spite of the efforts of his predecessors, the country round Poona was full of turbulence and disorder. The favourites of the Peshwa had absolute power in police, revenue and judicial matters. These favourites stayed at Court, governed by deputy, allowed their districts to fall into disorder, and paid to the State only a small share of the revenue. Balaji was too indolent to reform these abuses ; but Sadasheo Rao appointed a governor or *sarsubahdar*, compelled the favourites to produce their accounts and pay to the State the full share of the revenue. A respectable *shastri* was placed at the head of justice and the police was greatly improved. The Maratha peasantry have ever since blessed the days of Balaji Rao, or Nana Saheb Peshwa as he was frequently called.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MADHO RAO, 1761-1772; NARAYAN RAO, 1772-73;

MADHO RAO NARAYAN, 1773-1795.

Madho Rao.—On the death of Balaji, Madho Rao, his son, then in his seventeenth year, went to Satara to receive investiture. His uncle Raghunath Rao, better known as Raghoba, was appointed Regent. The latter was obliged to buy off the Moghul army which advanced to Ahmednagar in 1762, by the cession of land in Aurungabad and Bedar. Madho Rao in the meantime had chosen as his personal agents Haripant Phadke and Balaji Janardan who was afterwards to be famous as Nana Farnavis. These appointments as well as the mutual hatred between Raghoba's wife and Madho Rao's mother, led to a quarrel between the young Peshwa and his uncle. Raghoba assisted by a Moghul army advanced towards Poona, when Madho Rao, seeing that a war between him and his uncle might cause a complete split in the Maratha State, threw himself into his uncle's power. He was placed in confinement but treated with respect.

In 1763 Janoji Bhonsla, the Raja of Nagpur, urged by the Nizam to assume the leadership of the Marathas, marched to Poona; but treachery on the part of Janoji and the defeat of the Nizam's forces by Madho Rao made the attempt abortive. Janoji was punished by the invasion of his territories in 1766, when a portion of these was appropriated by Raghoba.

Maratha Successes.—In 1765 Madho Rao, resolving if possible to check the power of Hyder Ali, sent against

him an army commanded by his uncle. Being twice defeated Hyder Ali bought off the Marathas by a payment of thirty-two lakhs of rupees and the cession of all the territories he had acquired beyond the Mysore frontier. But next year Hyder again assumed the offensive. Madho Rao now took the administration into his own hands. He surprised Raghoba's army, took him prisoner and carried him to Poona where he confined him in the Peshwa's palace. He then made an alliance with the Nizam and the English, and led several expeditions against Hyder Ali. The latter was again obliged in 1770 to buy off the Marathas by a payment of thirty-six lakhs of rupees and a cession of territories yielding fourteen lakhs a year. The Marathas under Holkar and Sindhia, ordered out by the Peshwa to the north about the same time, levied contributions from the Rajput princes and even from the Jat Raja of Bharatpur. Rohilkhand was plundered; and the Maratha chief, Visvaji Krishna, induced the Emperor Shah Alam to leave the British protection and proceed to Delhi in 1771. While Visvaji was at Delhi young Madho Rao died of consumption.

Character and the Administration of the Peshwa.—Though young, Madho Rao was absolutely fearless. Courage was combined in his case with wisdom, and both alike were manifested in the successes with which he kept in check his many enemies both at home and abroad. More than this, his selection of officers and subordinates was always happy and judicious, as shown in the employment of such men as Ram Shastri, his tutor and spiritual guide, and Nana Farnavis.

One of Madho Rao's first acts was to stop the practice of forcing villagers to carry baggage without pay. Madho Rao is entitled to special praise for his support of the weak against the oppressive, of the poor against the rich, and for his justness. He started nothing new; he improved the existing system, tried to cure defects, and to check corruption. The efficiency of his early government was clogged

by the abilities of Sakaram Bapu. When Madho Rao removed Sakaram in 1768 he allowed his successor in the office to do nothing without his orders, and established a system of intelligence which gave him prompt information regarding domestic and foreign events. His short reign is memorable for the partial revival of Maratha power. The battle of Panipat has been said to have been not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince.

Narayan Rao.—Madho Rao, when he felt that death was near, freed his uncle Raghoba from confinement, and placed his younger brother Narayan Rao, under his charge. In December 1772 Narayan Rao, then seventeen years old, went to Satara and was invested as Peshwa. Sakaram Bapu was made prime minister and Nana Farnavis recorder. Nephew and uncle remained friends for some time, but the old hatred between Raghoba's wife and Narayan's mother and the jealousy of the Brahmin ministers produced discord and Raghoba was confined again. In the midst of a tumult in Poona the young Peshwa was assassinated. Raghoba was suspected of the murder but as there was no proof of his guilt, the ministers decided that he should be held innocent and accepted as the new Peshwa. Ram Shastri approved of the decision, but he subsequently found a paper in which Raghoba had ordered Narayan Rao to be seized, an order which had been subsequently modified by a change of word into murder.

To divert the attention of the Marathas from this cruel deed, Raghoba made great preparations for a war against Nizam Ali, who purchased peace with twenty lakhs of rupees. Raghoba, however, in a fit of generosity, made a present to the Nizam of all that he had ceded.

Madho Rao Narayan 1773-1795.—In the meantime at Poona Ram Shastri had thrown up his appointment on the murder of Narayan Rao; and a hostile party led by

Nana Farnavis and Sakaram Bapu succeeded in placing on the throne an infant who was supposed to be the posthumous child of Narayan Rao. This child was Madho Rao Narayan. All the old servants of the State joined his party and Sindhia supported him. The reign of the Peshwa was marked by (1) the First Maratha War, (2) the wars with Mysore, (3) the rise of Sindhia and (4) the Battle of Kurdla.

The First Maratha War* (1775-82)—Causes.—Raghoba's partisans began to desert him one by one. A Council of Regency was formed at Poona with Nana Farnavis at its head to administer affairs. Raghoba marched against the Regency and gained a victory ; but instead of following it up he went to Gujarat and threw himself on the mercy of the Bombay government, entering into a treaty with the British, called the Treaty of Surat (1775). By this treaty Raghoba agreed to give up to the English Salsette, Bassein and some districts in Gujarat in return for their help in enabling him to recover the Peshwaship. But Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, refused to ratify the treaty on the ground that it was unauthorised and unjust, and he concluded another treaty with the Regency, called the Treaty of Purandhar (1776), by which Salsette was given to the British on their promise to withdraw all help they may have lent to Raghoba. The governments of Bombay and Calcutta being thus at variance, the matter was referred to the Board of Directors who approved of the Treaty of Surat and sent instructions to help Raghoba. At the same time Nana Farnavis entertained a French ambassador at his court. The British thereupon took up the cause of Raghoba and declared war against the Regency.

Progress of the War.—A British force sent by the Bombay government under Colonel Egerton advanced as far as Talegaon, where it was surrounded by the Marathas and

* Some writers treat this war as two wars, namely, the first, upto the Treaty of Surat, and the second, from 1778 to 1782.

obliged to retreat. A convention was signed at Wargaon (Jan. 1779) by which the British agreed to restore to the Marathas the territories received from them, and to surrender Raghoba. This treaty was afterwards repudiated by the Directors. Colonel Goddard was sent from Bengal later in the year. He marched to Gujarat where he was joined by the Gaikwar, and the allies captured Ahmadabad. In the following year Hastings endeavoured to create a diversion from the main attack by operating against Sindhia's possessions near Agra, and this was carried out successfully by the gallant capture of Gwalior by Major Popham (1780). A confederacy against the British, formed towards the close of 1779, including the Nizam, the Marathas and Hyder Ali of Mysore, failed to achieve any remarkable success. The war was concluded by the Treaty of Salbai (1782) by which the British agreed to restore all their conquests since the Treaty of Purandhar, with the exception of Salsette, Elephanta, and two other small islands, which were retained by them. It was also agreed that Hyder Ali should be compelled to restore to the British all the territories that he had conquered from them. The infant Madho Rao Narayan was recognised as Peshwa and Raghoba was provided with a pension of three lakhs of rupees a year.

The Wars with Mysore.—The Marathas fought with Tipu, the Sultan of Mysore, and compelled him to give up some territories and to pay forty-five lakhs of rupees as tribute, 1787. In 1790 the Marathas joined the English against Tipu (the Third Mysore War, 1790–1792) and on the conclusion of the war, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, made over to them a portion of Tipu's dominions, including the Carnatic Balaghat.

The Rise and Career of Mahadaji Sindhia.—By the treaty of Salbai Sindhia was placed in the position of an independent military power, and of sufficient importance to make the English desire his co-operation. The effect of

this was to make Sindhia ambitious of securing a position of eminence. In 1784 he made himself master of Delhi, and received from the powerless Emperor the command-in-chief of the royal forces and a gift of the provinces of Agra and Delhi. In the following year he attacked the Rajputs, saved the Emperor from the cruelties of the Rohillas and obtained a patent conferring on the Peshwa the title of "Vakil-ul-Mutlak" (Regent of the Empire). Mahadaji Sindhia now proceeded to Poona, invested the Peshwa with the insignia of office; and the young Peshwa in his turn placed him on a seat next to his own, as the highest officer in the State. There now grew up between Mahadaji Sindhia and Nana Farnavis a natural hatred and rivalry, a rivalry accentuated by Sindhia's victory over Holkar, the second in power of the Maratha nobility. Nana Farnavis was, however, soon relieved from his awkward position by the death of Mahadaji Sindhia in 1794.

Battle of Kurdla (1795).—Nana Farnavis now became supreme in the Maratha state; and he availed himself of this opportunity to settle accounts with the Nizam. He called upon him to pay up all arrears of the Maratha dues. War followed; all the Maratha chiefs assembled under the banner of the Peshwa, and at Kurdla (Kharda) the forces of the Nizam were routed. The Nizam consented to pay three crores of rupees as arrears and ceded all the districts from the Tapti to Purinda.

Death of the Peshwa.—A romantic friendship had sprung up between the Peshwa and his cousin Baji Rao, the son of Raghoba. The latter possessed a handsome person and a mild disposition, and was a good horseman and scholar. The Peshwa was eager to cultivate his society, but Nana Farnavis set his face against it and rebuked the Peshwa. This preyed so much on Madho Rao's mind that, in a fit of gloom, he committed suicide by throwing himself from the terrace of his palace (1795).



INDIA IN 1795.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BAJI RAO II. AND THE FALL OF THE MARATHAS.

1796—1818.

Accession of Baji Rao.—Nana Farnavis determined to support Baji Rao II., while his opponents set up Chimnaji Appa, Baji Rao's younger brother. Intrigues and counter intrigues followed. Chimnaji, raised to the dignity of Peshwa much against his own wishes, appointed Pureshram Bhao as his minister. Baji Rao was a prisoner; Nana an exile. Baji Rao however escaped, and joined Nana; the two succeeded in gaining over Bhonsla and Holkar. Daulat Rao Sindhia, the successor of Mahadaji Sindhia, perceiving the turn affairs had taken consented to join them. Baji Rao was installed Peshwa in December 1796. Two days after he had assisted to instal his master at Poona, Nana Farnavis found himself a prisoner. Sindhia was now all powerful. Nana died shortly afterwards (1800).

Sindhia and Holkar.—The Peshwa now determined to be rid of Sindhia. He refused to pay Sindhia's troops, with the result that the latter rushed into Poona and plundered the city, giving it up to lawlessness for about a week. But Sindhia had now to contend with a powerful enemy in the person of Jaswant Rao Holkar. The regiments of Holkar plundered Sindhia's territories. Sindhia left Poona in haste, but he arrived at Ujjain to find that Holkar had plundered it. Sindhia by way of revenge attacked and ravaged Indore. On reaching Hindustan Sindhia found that Holkar had gone to the Deccan, where later he defeated in a pitched battle

the united forces of the Peshwa and Sindhia. After Sindhia's departure from Poona, the Peshwa had put to death many of the Jagirdars who were opposed to him, amongst others a brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar. The sudden success of Holkar, therefore, filled him with alarm, and he fled from Poona.

Treaty of Bassein, 1802.—This was the opportunity for which the Marquis of Wellesley had long been waiting. He had introduced a system of *subsidiary alliances* with the native states by which the British undertook to protect their territories from invasion by the help of troops whose maintenance was provided by the grant of money or by an assignment of territory. A treaty on this basis had been already concluded with the Nizam; and a similar treaty, known as the Treaty of Bassein, was now made with the Peshwa who on his flight from Poona threw himself on the protection of the British. The Peshwa was to maintain a British force, assigning to the Company certain districts in the Deccan for their support; to keep no Europeans in his service, and to leave his disputes with the Nizam and the Gaikwar to English arbitration. It was a formal surrender of Maratha independence.

The Second Maratha War.—1803.—The Treaty was naturally viewed with indignation by the Maratha chiefs. The Peshwa, after signing the treaty, sent secret emissaries to Sindhia and Bhonsla, urging them to come to his help. A combination of Maratha chiefs was formed by Sindhia, and war was declared against the British. The Gaikwar remained neutral, and Holkar, though he consented to join them, failed to carry out his promise.

Progress of the War.—The command of the British army in the Deccan was entrusted to Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington), that in Hindustan to General Lake. Ahmednagar and Aurangabad were captured successively; and, at Assaye, after a fierce

struggle, the combined armies of Sindhia and Bhonsla were routed with great slaughter by Wellesley (23rd Sept. 1803). Two months later, Bhonsla again faced the same general at Argaon where he was completely defeated (29th Nov. 1803). His resistance was ended by the capture of the fortress of Gawilgarh (15th Dec. 1803).

Equally vigorous were Lake's movements in Hindustan. Aligarh, Delhi and Agra were captured ; Sindhia's forces were again defeated in the neighbourhood of Delhi and again at Laswari (1st Nov. 1803). The Emperor Shah Alam fell into the hands of the British.

By the close of 1803 Sindhia and Bhonsla, completely baffled, signed respectively the Treaties of Surji Arjungaon and Deogaon. Both surrendered all claims to *chauth* ; both agreed to accept British arbitration in disputes with the Nizam, and gave up the employment of French officers. Sindhia ceded in the Deccan Broach and Ahmednagar, in Hindustan all the territories between the Jumna and the Ganges including the districts of Delhi and Agra. Bhonsla ceded Berar, which was transferred to the Nizam, and Kattuck on the east coast which enabled the British to have an unbroken territory from Calcutta to the Carnatic.

Apart from the revenues thus acquired, these treaties gave the British through communication by land between Bengal and the South, a defensible frontier in upper Hindustan, and the guardianship and control of the Moghul Emperor.

War with Holkar.*—The last Maratha power that remained uncrushed was Holkar. He had a large and well-trained force with which he overran the territories of the Rajputs who were under British protection. It soon became necessary to declare war against him. Lake advanced from Delhi, Colonel Murray from

* This war, which began in April 1804, is sometimes called the Third Maratha War.

Gujarat, and Colonel Monson from Central India. Monson, defeated in a number of engagements, was obliged to retreat to Agra, but Murray captured Indore, Holkar's capital. Holkar then laid siege to Delhi, but retired on the approach of Lake. Lake defeated Holkar's forces at Farukhabad and Dig (1804); but the attempt to take the fortress of Bharatpur failed and its Raja received favourable terms. Holkar would now have been easily crushed, but just about this time the Marquis of Wellesley was recalled to England (1805). He was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis who died soon after his arrival in India; and Sir George Barlow entered into treaties with Holkar and his allies on easy terms.

The Third Maratha War.—1817-19—Baji Rao II, as we have already seen, was anxious to be rid of British control. Immense sums of money by way of tribute were due to the Peshwa from the Gaikwar and the Nizam, and the British called on Baji Rao to have these accounts settled. To negotiate a settlement the Gaikwar sent his minister Gangadhar Shastri to Poona, under a safe conduct from the British. But Gangadhar was murdered, probably at the instigation of Trimbakji Dainglia, the unscrupulous minister of Baji Rao II. Trimbakji was handed over to the British; but he escaped, and Baji Rao helped him with sums of money which Trimbakji used in raising troops. The British, hereupon, compelled Baji Rao to enter into a new treaty with them (the Treaty of Poona, 1817) by which his powers were considerably curtailed. He was prohibited from sending ambassadors beyond his own territories, or entertaining foreign ambassadors at his court; in other words he was forbidden any longer to consider himself the head of the Maratha Confederacy.

The final Collapse of Maratha Power.—Baji Rao now hastened his preparations for war, and incited the Maratha

chiefs to make a fresh effort for independence. He himself collected an army, under the pretext of attacking the Pindaris; but the Resident, Mr. Elphinstone, knowing the real purpose, removed the British brigade to Kirki, where a few days later the army of the Peshwa was defeated, and Poona occupied by the British (13th Nov. 1817). The Peshwa fled to Satara. Collecting a fresh army he attacked a British detachment at Koregaon (1st Jan. 1818), but sustained a fresh defeat, and ultimately surrendered to the British. With a pension of eight lakhs of rupees a year he was made to retire to Bithur near Cawnpore.

At Nagpur Appa Saheb, the guardian of the youthful Raja, had brought about the murder of the latter and become Raja himself. He then entered into a subsidiary treaty with the British. But, like the Peshwa, he had no desire to maintain friendly relations and joined the latter, attacking the British Residency at Nagpur, which was situated on the Sitabaldi Hills. But he was defeated (26th Nov. 1817). A grandson of Raghuji Bhonsla was placed on the throne of Berar under British protection. Appa Saheb fled to Lahore, where he died some years afterwards.

Jaswant Rao Holkar had died in 1811 and during the minority of his son Malhar Rao the military leaders murdered Tulsibai, the Regent, who was favourably disposed towards the English, and declared war. Sindhia remained neutral. Holkar's army was defeated at Mahidpur (21st December 1817) by Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm. The young Malhar Rao was forced to a treaty (Treaty of Mandeshwar) by which Holkar's territories were received under British protection and certain districts including a part of Khandesh were ceded to the British (6th Jan. 1818).

Thus the Maratha Empire finally disappeared from history. Holkar was reduced to the position of a subsidiary ally; Sindhia recognised the logic of facts and remained loyal to the rest of his days; Nagpur was placed under

CHAPTER XXIX.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE MARATHAS.

It is almost an unconscious homage to Sivaji's greatness as a ruler and statesman that the civil and military institutions which he devised for his own times were retained, with but a few modifications, by the Peshwas and the several states that made up the Maratha Confederacy.

The Maratha Army.—The infantry, which constituted the foundation of Maratha power, was a well-organised, compact force. They were armed partly with matchlocks, partly with arrow ; but the favourite national weapon was the spear, with a short sword and shield. But more characteristic and better suited to the country and the national temper was the Maratha cavalry, composed of small, swift, active horses with riders lightly dressed and equipped, fitted for march rather than for battle. They could sometimes sweep over the country at the rate of fifty to eighty miles in twenty-four hours. The army, both cavalry and infantry, set forth without any provision except what could be contained in two cotton bags or pouches thrown over the saddle or slung across the shoulders. They trusted to supply their wants on their route either by forcible seizure or by means of the merchants who resorted to the camp. The soldier received liberal pay and though it was not regularly paid, great freedom was allowed to him while suing for its liquidation. During the rains the cavalry retired to the fortresses, and the foot soldiers to their homes to cultivate the fields. The Maratha troops as

a rule avoided pitched battles, took refuge in the fortresses when hard pressed, and hovered on the skirts of the hostile armies, carrying off provisions and treasure as opportunity offered.

System of Government.—The fortress with its surrounding tract of country formed the administrative unit from the earliest times : it was a medium of protection for life and property. The hill-fort was the centre of each district (*prant*), and its commandant with his civil and military staff was the governor of the district. On the plains the village system prevailed ; the majority of cultivators were hereditary occupants, who could not be ejected from their farms so long as they paid their revenues. Each village was under a *patel* who supervised the cultivation of fields, managed the police and collected the revenue. Several patels were grouped together and placed under a *deshodhikari*. To secure the cultivators against unfair exactions, all village lands were divided into fields which were carefully entered into a register.

The affairs of the State were in the hands of a number of high officials who together constituted a Council, with the Peshwa or prime minister, at the head. Sivaji did not recognise hereditary rights to the great offices of State ; and he attempted to preserve a balance of castes both in military and in civil appointments. The council, however, did not long survive the death of Sivaji. The Peshwa, taking advantage of the disorder and anarchy that followed the death of the great founder of the Maratha power, converted his office into a hereditary post and superseded the descendants of Sivaji as rulers and heads of the Maratha Confederacy.

System of Revenue.—The assessment of revenue on land was yearly calculated on the actual condition of the crops. There was no permanent assessment, but the State every year took the money value of two-fifths of the

harvest. Sivaji was opposed to the grant of *jagirs*, or estates granted rent free on condition of military service, which were usually converted into hereditary estates. He was also opposed to the Moghul system of farming out revenues to collectors. His revenue officials were mostly Brahmins, appointed by the central government, who remitted directly to the State Treasury all the revenue which they collected.

Besides this revenue, the countries which the Marathas conquered or overran were another source of income to the State. From these countries *chauth*, or one-fourth, and *sirdeshmukhi*, or one-tenth, of the revenue, were yearly exacted as an acknowledgment of Maratha supremacy. The income thus derived went into the general funds of the State. In the first grant made by Aurangzeb for *chauth* in Moghul territory Sivaji undertook to preserve order in the districts assigned to him. In later times *chauth* became a simple exaction of tribute by superior strength, without the rendering in return of any political service whatsoever.

It was usually out of the booty taken in warfare that Sivaji paid and rewarded his soldiers and other servants of the State: the Peshwas was departed from this policy, and adopted the system of paying military and civil servants by permanent grants of the revenue of villages. Had the Peshwas adhered to the wise system of Sivaji, they might have secured more effectively the unity and solidarity of Maratha power, which was with the lapse of time broken up by the rise of independent chieftains.

BOOK V.

THE BRITISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE EARLY EUROPEAN TRADERS.

Discovery of the Sea Route.—Until the close of the fifteenth century India was almost a mythical country to the nations of Europe. The sailors of Venice and Genoa, the leading maritime mercantile cities of the day, had the trade with India and the East solely in their hands ; because the only route by which Indian produce could then travel to Europe was by land across Central Asia to the Black Sea, and so on to Constantinople. The other European nations naturally became desirous of finding a direct sea route to India by which they could obtain a share in the lucrative trade with the East. It was reserved for Portugal to lead the way. Portuguese mariners found their way after successive efforts as far as the Cape of Good Hope : and in 1498 the Portuguese Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope and discovered the sea route to India.

The Portuguese in India.—Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut, then governed by a petty Hindu ruler with the title of Zamorin. The Zamorin received him with favour, and after a stay of six months he returned to Portugal, with a cargo of Indian spices. Two years later the king of Portugal sent a well-equipped fleet by the newly found route with a commission to open up trade with the East. The fleet

arrived at Calcut ; but the jealousy of the Mohammedan traders involved them in a quarrel with the Zamorin. The Portuguese thereupon sailed to Cochin. The Raja of Cochin was an enemy of the Zamorin. He welcomed the Portuguese and allowed them to establish a factory in his territories, to erect a fort and purchase cargo. In 1505 Francisco Almeida was sent as Governor and Viceroy of the Portuguese in India. His efforts were directed to the maintenance of Portuguese supremacy on sea for the protection of the factories on land. The Sultan of Egypt, perceiving that the discovery of the sea-route to India was ruining the transit trade through his country, despatched a fleet against the Portuguese. But the Egyptian fleet was utterly defeated off the island of Diu in 1509.

Affonso Albuquerque.—Almeida was succeeded by Affonso Albuquerque as Viceroy. To him belongs the credit of having first given practical shape to the idea of a Portuguese empire in the East. He captured Goa in 1510, and made it a commercial and political capital. The conquest of Malacca in 1511 gave the Portuguese the complete command of the spice trade and of the trade with China and Japan. Shortly before his death in 1515 Albuquerque captured Ormuz, the port commanding the trade with the Persian gulf. He exacted tribute from native princes in his neighbourhood and made them acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Portugal. At the same time he endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the Hindus. His justice and magnanimity did as much to extend the power of the Portuguese in the East as his courage and military enterprise. Even after his death Hindus and Mohammedans used to repair to his tomb and utter their complaints, as if in the presence of his shade and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors. In spite of such eminent services, however, he was deprived of his office, and he died on his way to Goa, in 1515, of a broken heart.

The Decline of the Portuguese Power.—The Portuguese power in the East was not destined to flourish and expand. The resources and energy of the small nation at home were soon exhausted; and this result was aggravated by the absorption of Portugal by Spain in 1580. The Dutch whose naval power had increased drove the Portuguese from Cannanore, Negapatam, Cochin and Malacca. The Persians recovered Ormuz; the Marathas compelled them to pay tribute. Finally religious bigotry may be added to the other causes of their decline and failure. The Inquisition was established at Goa in 1560, and their efforts to spread their faith stirred up the resentment of the Hindus and Mohammedans.

The Dutch in India.—The Dutch followed the Portuguese. In 1596 they landed at Bantam in Java, carrying home a cargo of spices. In 1599 they seized from the Portuguese several of their towns in the Malaccas. They had already acquired a part of Ceylon, and by 1605 they became the greatest maritime nation in the Indian seas. In 1619 the Dutch East India Company founded the colony of Batavia; later they expelled the Portuguese from Malacca and from Ceylon. The chief settlements of the Dutch in India were at Pulicat, Negapatam, and Chinsura. The Dutch found themselves soon the rivals of the English in an attempt to secure a footing in the Spice Islands. The Dutch were determined to enjoy the monopoly of their trade, and their agents were instructed to drive the English out of the Archipelago. In 1623 a handful of Englishmen were seized on the island of Amboyna, and accused of a plot to capture the Dutch settlement. They were subsequently put to death. Henceforward the Dutch were supreme in the Spice Islands. They prospered for a century, but they subsequently declined in power. Holland became exhausted by the perpetual struggle in Europe, first with Spain, then with France; her naval

supremacy was challenged and finally crushed by England. In India the French under a series of able rulers took the place of the Dutch as the leading rival of Great Britain.

Early History of the French in India.—The fact that other European nations had established trading factories in India could not but arouse the ambition of the French. Companies were formed as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century to trade with the Indies, but it was not till 1664, when Louis XIV had assumed the direction of the State with Colbert as his chief minister, that a more vigorous policy was adopted. Colbert realised that the commercial ascendancy of the future must rest with a power which could hold its own on the seas and establish colonies in distant lands. A French East India Company was formed in 1664, and an expedition was sent out which landed at Cochin and established a French factory at Surat. Permission was also obtained from the king of Golconda to trade in his dominions and to erect a factory at Masulipatam. The Frenchman Caron conceived the idea of driving the Dutch from their possessions in Ceylon. But the expedition ended in a failure, and the only gain from a war which cost many lives and much money was the small town of St. Thomè, near Madras.

Martin.—François Martin was next sent out to look after the French possessions in India. He entered into negotiations with the king of Bijapur, and purchased from him Pondicherry, Villanur and Bahur. Pondicherry was a safe landing-place, a healthy spot, and excellently situated for commerce with the interior. Accordingly Martin fortified it, raised a regiment of native soldiers and made it the capital of the French possessions in India. Martin's wise policy saved the French possessions from Maratha invasions. He acknowledged the supremacy of the Marathas and paid Sivaji a sum of money for the retention of Pondicherry and for permission to trade in the Carnatic.

Aurangzeb gave to the French the site of Chandarnagar in Bengal. A war with the Dutch led to the loss of Pondicherry in 1693. It was, however, restored to the French on the conclusion of the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). Martin was now made Governor of Pondicherry, and during his rule which lasted to his death in 1706 trade flourished and the French were courted by Indian princes. In 1725 the French acquired Maihi on the Malabar coast, and they renamed it Mahé in honour of the French captain Mahé de la Bourdonnais who captured it.

Dumas, 1735-1741.—Under Dumas the French entered into friendly relations with the Nawab of Arcot, Dost Ali Khan, and obtained through him an imperial *firman* giving permission to the French to coin money. Dumas lent his troops to a claimant to the throne of Tanjore and received in return the town of Karikal and some villages. The Marathas at this time raided the Carnatic and completely defeated Dost Ali. The relatives of the Nawab and other minor Chiefs flocked into Pondicherry for protection. This was generously afforded to them by Dumas who saw in this a means of extending French influence. The Marathas demanded the surrender of the refugees, but Dumas contrived to pacify them, and the Marathas returned home. The princes who had thus been delivered from the Marathas were full of gratitude to the French, and they repaid their protectors by grants of land. The Emperor of Delhi conferred upon Dumas the title of Nawab and created him a commander of 4500 horse. Dumas retired in 1741 and was succeeded by Dupleix.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE ENGLISH—EARLY HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Early Efforts.—The earliest attempt on the part of England to trade with the East was made by a number of English merchants to whom a charter was granted on the last day of the year 1600 by Queen Elizabeth with right of exclusive trading. The first few years in the history of the Company were devoted to 'separate voyages' each organised by a body of subscribers and wound up on the return of the ship by a realisation of the profits. The trade was mostly confined to Bantam, Aden, Mocha and Socotra. The London East India Company, which was the name under which these merchants traded, received from the Emperor Jahangir permission to establish a factory at Surat in 1613. A little later Sir Thomas Roe went as an ambassador to the court of Jahangir from James I. of England. He found it impossible to secure a regular commercial treaty between the Moghul Emperor and the King of England, but he obtained a few concessions and many promises. The Emperor Shahjahan pleased with the services of the English surgeon, Boughton, invited him to choose his reward, and he chose nothing for himself, but much for the Company—the right of trading duty-free in Bengal and of establishing factories. The request was granted and a factory was established at Hugli.

Another factory was established on the Coromandel coast and fortified under the title of Fort St. George: the city which grew up around it was to be known as Madras.

Bombay and War with the Moghuls.—Charles II. of England, on his marriage with the daughter of the King of Portugal, received as her dower the islands of Bombay and Salsette. The Portuguese refused to allow the King's troops to take possession of Salsette, and Bombay as a thing of little worth was made over to the Company for an annual rent of £10. Soon afterwards Charles gave to the Company the charter which empowered the traders of the Company in India to imprison any unlicensed person whom they found trading on his own account. In 1685 Shayista Khan, the Viceroy of Bengal, imposed a duty on the English traders, though they held an imperial *firman* exempting them from the payment of local dues. The English, there-upon, for the first time adopted a policy of armed trade, and declared war upon the Emperor.

The Company now proclaimed in memorable words that they "intended to establish such a policy of civil and military power, and create such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come." The result was disastrous. The English merchants had to flee from their factories at Hugli and Kasimbazar ; they were also expelled from Surat and Masulipatam. Aurangzeb was, however, eager to make peace ; the English had their trading privileges restored to them on their agreeing to pay a lakh and a half of rupees. It was at this time that Job Charnock established a factory on the Hugli, on a marshy and malarious plot, which was destined to grow and become famous as Calcutta. A few years after, a fort was erected to protect the factory, to be known as Fort William. This war marks the end of the first phase in the relations between the English traders and India. Hitherto they had looked to the Moghul Emperors for *firman*s and protection. Henceforth they had to look to their own arms, in the absence of a strong paramount power in the country.

The United East India Company, 1702.—There was a large body of merchants in England who protested against being shut out from trade with India. A number of these unlicensed traders, called 'interlopers,' undertook voyages to India and established themselves as traders. They succeeded in obtaining a charter from the King allowing them to open commerce with the East under the name of "The English East India Company." But the company did not flourish, and, by an Act of Parliament in 1702, both the companies were united under the title of "The United East India Company." The rivalry between the two Companies fixed two principles : (1) Parliament established its sole right of conferring or regulating trade monopoly, a privilege which had been hitherto exercised by the monarch ; (2) Parliament deliberately gave its preference to the principle of a monopoly of trade by a company and not to that of a trade open to all British subjects.

Constitution of the Company.—The affairs of the Company were managed in England by the Court of Proprietors and the Board of Directors and in India by the servants of the Company under instructions from the Directors. The Court of Proprietors consisted of such shareholders of the Company as owned shares of the value of £500 and upwards. They had the power of electing and dismissing Directors ; and they met four times a year to receive and discuss the report of the Directors. The Board of Directors managed the affairs of the Company by means of various committees chosen from their own body. There were twenty-four Directors elected annually, the qualification for office being the possession of £2000 of the Company's shares.

The Company's Government in India.—In India the possessions of the Company were divided into three presidencies, of which the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were the capitals. The Government of each Presidency was carried on by a President and Council. The

powers of the Governor and Council were large. They had powers of martial law for the troops and marines in their service; they could imprison and send to England all Englishmen not in their service and suspected of being unlawfully engaged in trade. They had civil and criminal jurisdiction in their own factories and over their own servants. The Company's officers were called 'writers,' 'factors,' 'junior merchants' and 'senior merchants.' The 'writers' were sent out between the ages of 15 and 22, received a nominal pay, and were placed in various subordinate offices. After a period of service they became 'factors,' and were entitled to higher pay. The next grades were those of 'junior merchants' and 'senior merchants.' From the last were selected the members of Council.

The French and the English Companies.—We may note certain differences between the French and the English companies trading in India. The English merchants, men of wealth who acted in concert and obtained from government important privileges. They rested for their prosperity on their trade profits, and these were so large that they were able to lend government vast sums of money. In return for these loans they received fresh privileges and powers which enabled them to act with a free hand. On the other hand the French Company was a creation of the French government. It was supported largely by government money and government help; and the result was that the freedom of action of its directors at home was always hampered by the interference of state authorities.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH.

1744—1761.

Condition of India in 1744.—The head-quarters of the already tottering Moghul empire were at Delhi. The empire extended over the provinces watered by the Ganges, including Oudh and Bengal, Bihar and Orissa ; and further south over the great central district known as the Deccan and the Carnatic. In porportion to their distance from Delhi the provinces of the empire, ruled by Mohammedan Viceroys, were more or less independent of the central authority. The governor or Subahdar of the Deccan, known as the Nizam-ul-Mulk, nominally owned the supremacy of the Moghul Emperor, and appointed the Nawab of Arcot who ruled the Carnatic. South of the Nizam's dominions and west of the Carnatic were the Hindu kingdoms of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. On the north-west of the Moghul empire, in the Punjab, was the Hindu confederacy of the Sikhs ; to the south of them were the Hindu states of Rajputana. Further south was the Hindu confederacy of the Marathas, spreading west and north of the Deccan, and running out between the Deccan and the imperial provinces of Oudh and Bengal. Thus from the Punjab to Mysore all Western India was Hindu and had thrown off the Moghul allegiance. India may be said to be divided into four sections : (1) the Moghul empire in the Ganges basin, the Deccan and the Carnatic and on the east

between Bengal and the Deccan; (2) in the north-west the Sikhs and the Rajputs; (3) cutting in between the Deccan and the Upper Bengal the Marathas; (4) in the south Mysore.

A brief survey such as this of the political condition of India in the middle of the eighteenth century is sufficient to indicate that it was not to be a very difficult task for a foreign invader to overthrow the native dynasties, and to establish himself in their place. The absence of military organisation, the mutual rivalry between state and state, and the intrigues which followed upon the death of the reigning sovereign, prepared the way for foreign conquest.

Conditions of a European Conquest: the Certainty of British Success.—Hitherto the invader of India had come from the north. In the first half of the eighteenth century he came again in the persons of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali: but neither of them was an organising conqueror. They came as marauders, and ransacked Delhi. In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, it had become clear that the true source of danger was the sea. Two things were needed for the effective conquest of India by a European nation: (1) that his communications with the home country should be kept open; (2) that he should have no one else competing with him on equal terms. Now by the middle of the century the Portuguese had disappeared; the activities of the Dutch were confined to the Spice Islands; only two other powers had a footing on Indian soil—the French and the English. But of these two one held control of the sea, *viz.*, the English, which made it impossible for the other to expel it, or even ultimately to resist it. The ability, the tactics, the resources of the French in India were at times superior to those of the English; but when they achieved successes on Indian soil, the naval victories of

England in other parts of the globe compelled them to restore to England what they had won. Thus it was practically certain that England must prevail in the end in the great struggle that was about to begin.

Causes of British Success.—Four elements in the national character of England have been pointed out as having brought about her success in India when other European nations failed. (1) There was a marvellous patience and self-restraint in refusing to enter on territorial conquests until she had gathered sufficient strength. (2) An indomitable persistence in those projects once they were entered on. (3) An admirable mutual confidence of the Company's servants in one another in times of trouble. (4) The resolute support of the English nation at home. English has never doubted that she must retrieve every disaster which may befall her countrymen in India, and she has never sacrificed the work of her Indian servants to the exigencies of her diplomacy in Europe.

Dupleix.—Dupleix arrived as Governor of Pondicherry in 1741. In the Carnatic he found a new Nawab, Anwar-ud-din, appointed by the Nizam to the exclusion of a family which had held the office for thirty years. The idea of establishing a territorial power in India now occurred to Dupleix. He thought if the Europeans gave their minds to doing it they could make themselves the determining power in the rivalries of natives; and if the French could get rid of the English they could secure that position for themselves. The means were ready to hand; he found that (i) a handful of drilled Europeans were a match for a host of native troops; and (ii) that natives drilled on the European system and officered by Europeans were as efficient as European troops.

The First Carnatic War.—1745–1749.—When war broke out between England and France in 1744 the Direc-

tors of the French and British East India Companies, thinking more of commerce than politics, instructed their officials in India to maintain friendly relations. But Dupleix had laid out his plans ; he entered into an alliance with Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, and fearing an attack on Pondicherry by the English he induced the Nawab to forbid the English from attacking the capital of his allies. In the meantime a French fleet under La Bourdonnais arrived at Pondicherry, set sail for Madras and captured it after a feeble resistance. Dupleix, eager to destroy the English power in India, would have razed Madras to the ground ; but La Bourdonnais agreed to restore the town on the payment of a ransom. Shortly after La Bourdonnais sailed back to the Mauritius and Dupleix took possession of Madras. Dupleix had promised to hand over the town of Madras to the Nawab as soon as he had wrested it from the English. But he now decided to keep it, with the result that the angry Nawab sent his troops to compel its surrender. In a battle at St. Thomè the French defeated the Nawab's troops. Dupleix followed up his victory by attacking Fort St. David, a hundred miles to the south of Madras ; but the arrival of Major Lawrence with a force and of the fleet under Admiral Boscawen enabled the English to repel the attack and to besiege Pondicherry in turn. The war had reached this point when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed in 1748, and one of its conditions was the mutual restoration of all conquests. Madras was restored to the English.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH. (*CONTINUED.*)

The Second Carnatic War—1749-1754.—Cause.

—The Nawab of the Carnatic at this time, as we have seen, was Anwar-ud-din, who had first been appointed guardian to the hereditary Nawab, and on the death of the latter had succeeded to the Nawabship. Chanda Sahib was governor of Trichinopoly and had secured himself in his position by marrying the daughter of Dost Ali, the previous Nawab of the Carnatic. But he was driven out by the Marathas who took Trichinopoly in 1741, and escaping he took refuge at Pondicherry. Dupleix now conceived the idea of establishing Chanda Sahib on the throne of the Carnatic. His schemes were suddenly enlarged by further complications. The old Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748 and was succeeded by his son Nasir Jang. His claim to the throne was however disputed by a grandson, Muzzafar Jang, who affirmed that the Moghul Emperor himself had made his appointment. The two claimants, Muzzafar Jang and Chanda Sahib, made common cause, and applied to the French for help. Dupleix gladly consented to help them, more especially as he could give to his step a colour of loyalty to the imperial Throne of Delhi.

Progress.—Muzzafar Jang and Chanda Sahib marched into the Carnatic accompanied by French soldiers and sepoys under Bussy. Anwar-ud-din was defeated and slain at

Amber, while his son Mohammed Ali escaped to Trichinopoly. The French having taken sides it was but natural that the British should come to the help of Nasir Jang and Mohammed Ali. Chanda Sahib was proclaimed Nawab at Arcot, and with his ally he marched to Pondicherry where he was given a royal welcome by Dupleix. It only remained to crush Mohammed Ali, and Chanda Sahib would be master of the Carnatic. The allies, however, were short of money and wasted time in a fruitless attack on Tanjore. Immediately upon their return Nasir Jang came upon them with a large army. He was joined by a British force from Madras under Major Lawrence. As the result of an engagement Muzzafar Jang fell into his uncle's hands and Chanda Sahib fell back on Pondicherry.

Dupleix, however, was not to be discouraged. He intrigued with the followers of Nasir Jang. At the same time he made an attack on Masulipatam which was captured. He routed the forces of Mohammed Ali, while Bussy seized the strong fort of Jinji. Bussy then pressed on, and fell on Nasir Jang's troops. Nasir Jang was assassinated, and Muzzafar Jang was hailed as Nizam. The French cause appeared to have triumphed.

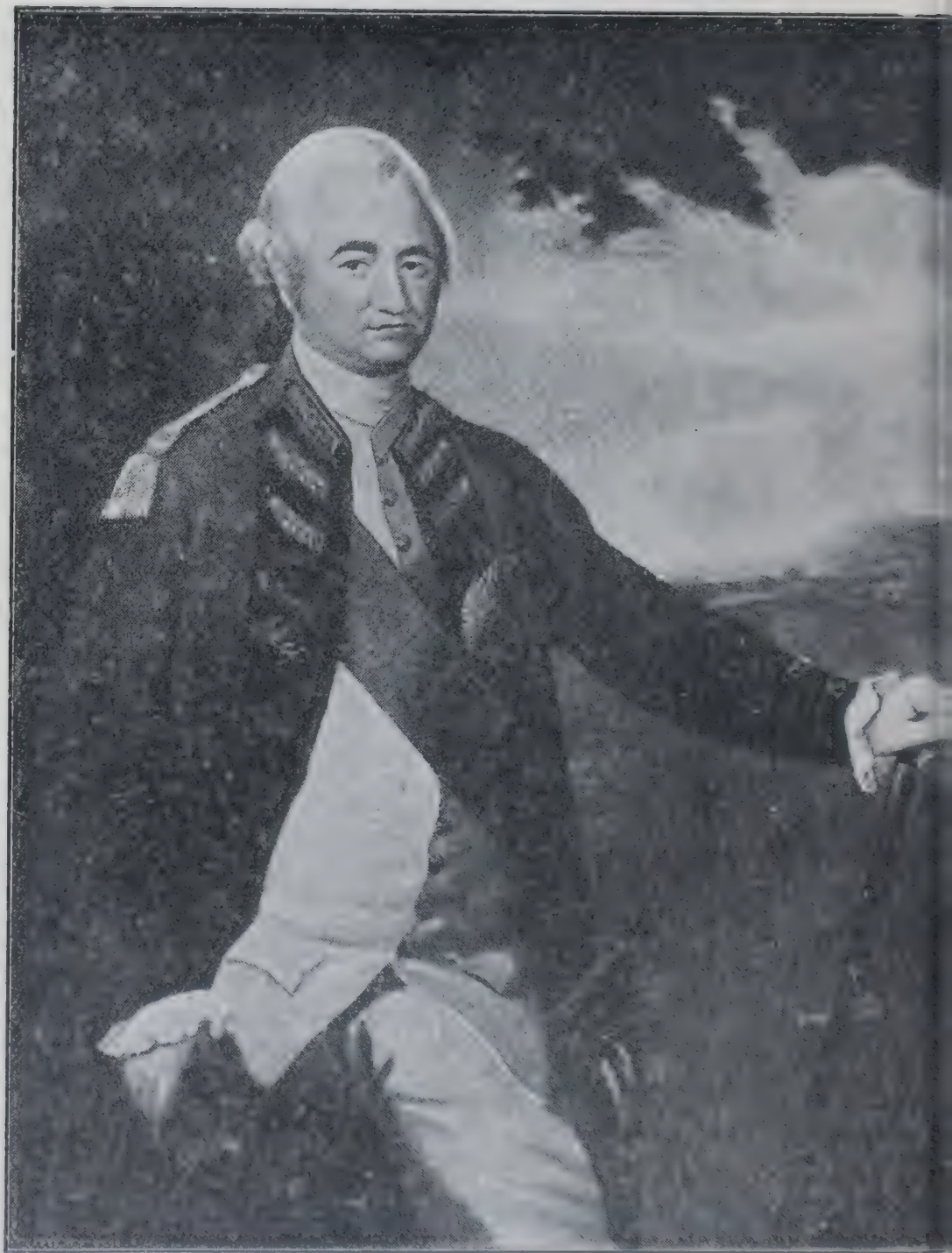
Muzzafar Jang was slain in his turn in 1751. Bussy, however, secured the succession of Salabat Jang, another son of Nizam-ul-Mulk. By his cool courage and remarkable ability he won the confidence of the weakling Nizam, who granted to the French a large territory on the east coast, known as the Northern Circars.

Mohammed Ali had sheltered himself in the fort of Trichinopoly which Chanda Sahib now invested. Governor Saunders, who had recently arrived at Madras, sent a British force to the help of Mohammed Ali under the command of Robert Clive, a lad of twenty-six, who had first come out as a 'writer' but had exchanged his clerkship for service in the field. He advised Saunders to create



DUPLEIX.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd. In tra.



ROBERT CLIVE.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd. India

a diversion in Mohammed Ali's favour by besieging Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital. With a handful of soldiers Clive marched sixty-four miles in five days and captured the place. Chanda Sahib drew off a portion of the besieging army from Trichinopoly for the defence of his capital. Arcot was besieged for seven weeks. Clive foiled the efforts of Raja Sahib, the son of Chanda Sahib, to storm the place; and when the siege was raised he defeated Raja Sahib at Arni and Kaveripak. Clive now marched with Lawrence to the relief of Trichinopoly. The siege was raised; Chanda Sahib was made a prisoner and put to death (1752). Dupleix' resources were not yet at an end, and he was laying fresh plans for the continuation of the struggle when he was recalled in 1754 by the French Government. Clive and Lawrence also returned to England. The two Companies agreed to interfere no more with native politics.

Career and Character of Dupleix.—Dupleix has been called one of the most illustrious statesmen of his day. He it was who first conceived the magnificent idea of building up a European empire on the ruins of the Moghul and who also perceived the means of carrying it into execution. When he arrived in India as Governor of Pondicherry he found that the subahdars or governors of the Moghul empire were aspiring to independence, and even their subordinates were disposed to imitate their example. The parties thus formed were so equally balanced that neutrals of comparatively feeble resources could easily determine the result by throwing their weight into one of the scales. This was the plan on which Dupleix began to act, and he was cordially helped in his work by Madame Dupleix who had been born and brought up in India. Many of the native languages were familiar to her and that enabled her to be the fittest medium of communication between the natives and her husband. Dupleix also understood the importance of disciplined troops in

warfare with the natives, and perceived that to conquer India it was not necessary to import European armies. Amongst the natives he perceived sufficient valour and soldiership to convert them, when properly led, into the finest troops in the world. There could have been no better testimony to the services which he rendered to his country than the fact that when he returned to France, recalled by an unappreciative government, it was found that he had not only used his own private funds to the extent of £300,000 but he had borrowed largely. These debts were, however, repudiated by the French government, and he died in poverty, broken-hearted and disappointed. He was a great administrator, and was endowed with a commanding personality. He had an intellect quick and subtle, and a persistence and a determination that were proof against every shock of fortune. He possessed a noble, generous and sympathising nature and he had an equanimity of temper that enabled him to bear the greatest reverses with resignation.

The Third Carnatic War.—1756-1761.—The agreement between the Companies did not last long. Clive returned to India intending to unite with the Marathas in an attack on Salabat Jang. Since this project could not be carried out, he suppressed a piratical chief named Angria on the west coast and was then sent to Bengal. In the meanwhile the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe between the English and the French, and a French expedition under the command of Count Lally arrived at Pondicherry in 1758. Shortly after landing Lally captured Fort St. David and dismantled it. He then recalled Bussy from Hyderabad, a very imprudent step, for as soon as Bussy had left the Deccan, the English obtained possession of the Northern Circars and induced the Nizam to desert the French. Lally now laid siege to Madras, scraping together such transport for his guns as could be found.

Bussy was sullen ; the soldiers were starving and mutinous ; but Lally pressed on, and after a siege of two months was about to storm Madras when the arrival of a British squadron obliged him to retire to Pondicherry. Lally now invested the fort of Wandiwash, north of Jinj, and there in 1760 was utterly defeated by Sir Eyre Coote and driven into Pondicherry which surrendered in 1761, after a distressing siege of nine months. The unfortunate Lally returned to his native land, where he was put on his trial, condemned for betraying his country and beheaded. The Peace of Paris (1763), which brought the Seven Years' War to an end, restored Pondicherry to the French, but they were never again able to contend on equal terms with the British in India.

Causes of French Failure.—The broad causes that brought about the failure of the French in India have been already indicated. The struggle between the rival Companies may be divided into three periods : the first period terminated with the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the second with the recall of Dupleix, the third with the Peace of Paris. In the first two periods the rivals faced each other as allies of native princes, while the fleets of the two nations had no definite share in the result, with the consequence that France was comparatively in the better position. But now at the end of the second period her greatest statesman in India was recalled by France ; she allowed her resources to be wasted in a fruitless land contest with half the powers of Europe ; while England was thoroughly alive to the importance of maintaining her position in India, and backed up the efforts of the Company by a liberal support in men and money. Above all the final victory of the British was due to the vigorous naval policy of Pitt, who blockaded the French ports and crippled the French navy, thus preventing France from coming to the help of her Indian possessions, so that it has been well observed that it was at Quiberon and Quebec, not at Trichinopoly and Wandiwash, that France lost her Indian Empire.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

AFFAIRS IN BENGAL.

1704 — 1761.

Position of the Nawab of Bengal.—In the earlier years of the eighteenth century the eastern provinces of the Moghul Empire, comprising Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, enjoyed peace and prosperity under the wise rule of Murshid Kuli Khan, with his head-quarters at Murshidabad. He was succeeded by his son-in-law; and he again by his son Sarfaraz Khan. This weak and indolent man was deprived of his office by Alivardi Khan, a Mohammedan soldier of fortune and a ruler of considerable ability. His reign was constantly disturbed by the predatory incursions of the Marathas under Raghuji Bhonsla, who was ultimately bought off by the cession of the province of Orissa and the payment of twelve lakhs of rupees a year. Alivardi died in 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson Siraj-ud-daulah, a young man wanting in ability and not of the most pacific of dispositions. In Bengal there were English, Dutch and French settlements, the principal factories of the respective Companies being at Fort William (Calcutta), Chandarnagar and Chinsura.

The 'Black Hole.'*—Finding that the British were strengthening the fortifications of Calcutta, in view of the war with the French, Siraj-ud-daulah ordered them to desist, perhaps under the fear that the preparations were made against him. He was also irritated by the protection afforded by the English, seemingly without design, to a young man whom he looked on as a pretender. It may

* The story of the 'Black Hole' tragedy is recently discredited as an invention.

also be that he was eagerly seeking a pretext on which he might be justified in plundering the wealth of Calcutta.

When he found that his orders were not heeded, he marched on Fort William. The place was in no condition for defence; the garrison fled with the Governor down the river. The Nawab took possession of the city and the fort. Such of the British as had remained behind were taken prisoners. One of his generals confined these prisoners, 146 in number, in a small room 18 feet square, with no ventilation save one small window. On their venturing to remonstrate the commander ordered every one who should hesitate to be instantly cut down.

Mr. Holwell, one of the prisoners, has described in detail the horrors of that fatal night. All attempts to obtain relief by a change of posture, from the painful pressure to which it gave rise, only increased the sufferings of the prisoners. The air became pestilential, and they were tormented with the most burning thirst. As the stations near the window were the best, the most dreadful struggles were made to reach them. Many of the prisoners made the most frightful efforts, and the sufferers were in some instances actually squeezed or trampled to death. When day dawned, the few who had survived were found raving or insensible. The remaining one hundred and twenty-three had died. The survivors were permitted to sail down Hoogly, while the Nawab retired to Murshidabad.

Battle of Plassey, in 1757.—The British authorities at Madras, on learning of this event, sent Clive and Admiral Watson to Bengal and they easily recaptured Fort William. When the Nawab marched on Calcutta with his Army, he was assaulted by the troops of Clive and fled back to Murshidabad. Seeing that the Nawab was intriguing with the French, Clive and Watson decided to strike at Chandarnagar. They proceeded against the French settlement, and

captured it after a gallant resistance. They thus prevented the possibility of a French attack from the side of Bengal at a time when the British in the Carnatic were fighting the forces of Lally. Clive and Watson now entered into a conspiracy with Mir Jafar, the discontented commander-in-chief of the Nawab's forces, through the agency of a Hindu merchant Omichund (sometimes known as Aminchand). When the negotiations were completed, the Hindu threatened to betray the plot unless he were promised thirty lakhs of rupees. To refuse means ruin ; to submit seemed absurd. Clive made out two copies of the treaty : one written on red paper contained Omichund's clauses ; the other copy omitted them. The red treaty shown to Omichund was signed by the members of Council. Watson's signature was forged as he refused to sign. Everything being settled, the British army marched towards Murshidabad, coming up with the enemy at Plassey. The combat that followed, though one of the most momentous in its results, was one of the least heroic. The Nawab brought out his forces from their trenches, and cannonaded the English without effect. Clive replied by silencing the enemy's guns. His whole line then advanced. The Nawab's army fled in terror ; Murshidabad was occupied, and the Nawab captured and put to death. Mir Jafar ascended the throne as subahdar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Mir Jafar and Clive's Government of Bengal.—1757-1760.—Mir Jafar found little happiness in his new position. He was obliged to pay large sums of money to Clive and the members of Council and as compensation for losses sustained by Calcutta. He also granted to the Company the *zamindari* or landlord's rights over a tract of country round Calcutta, known as the Twenty-four Parganas. It was about this time that Clive sent an expedition under Colonel Forde to destroy the French

settlement along the coast between Madras and Orissa, known as the Northern Circars. The campaign was successful; the French were defeated and Masulipatam was captured (1758). In the same year the Shahzada, the eldest son of the Moghul Emperor, escaped from Delhi, assumed the imperial title, and, supported by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, advanced on Bengal. The two together advanced against Patna, overrunning the province of Bihar. Mir Jafar was terror-stricken; but Clive marched promptly at the head of a force to relieve Patna which was besieged, dispersed the Moghuls, and forced the Shahzada to leave Bihar. In reward for this services, Mir Jafar presented Clive with a large *jagir*. Soon after the British were engaged against the Dutch who, alarmed at the growth of the British power, entered into correspondence with Mir Jafar. The fleet and army of the Dutch were destroyed, and their settlement and fort at Chinsura were captured.

Clive's Work.—His ill-health compelled Clive to return to England in 1760, with his work incomplete. During the three years he had spent in Bengal he had destroyed the French and the Dutch; he had put an end to all danger of invasion from other native states; he had placed on the throne of Bengal a Nawab so entirely dependent on British influence that he could not choose but be obedient. He had also obtained for the Company large sums of money, a permanent revenue to be drawn from certain districts, as well as the monopoly of the salt tax. He had established the prestige of the British not only as a fighting force immensely superior to that of any native state, but also as trustworthy and determined to stand by those to whom they had once promised support.

The State of the Country in 1761.—Clive sailed for England in 1760. In the following year was fought the

battle of Panipat in which the Durrani Chief Ahmad Shah shattered the power of the Marathas. The state of the country after the battle was somewhat as follows: The Moghul Empire was no more; the nominal Emperor wandered in Bihar. The power of the Marathas, hitherto centralised under the Peshwa, and divided amongst the different chieftains, Holkar, Sindhia, the Gaikwar and the Raja of Nagpur. The Nizam at Hyderabad and the Nawab of Oudh became independent rulers. The power of the French was crushed. The Nawab of the Carnatic was dependent on the good will of the government of Madras. The Rohillas were becoming a power of some importance; and in the south Hyder Ali was extending his influence and authority in Mysore. The English may even now be said to be a great power in India; they had nominated the rulers of two large possessions—the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and that of the Carnatic. Very soon after, their ally Nizam Ali imprisoned his brother and seized his throne, placing the whole of the south of India within the influence of the British.

CHAPTER XXXV.

AFFAIRS IN BENGAL.

1761—1772.

Deposition of Mir Jafar.—Vansittart was appointed Governor of Bengal in the place of Clive. Though well meaning, he had neither the firmness nor the authority of Clive. In paying the price of his Nawabship Mir Jafar had exhausted his treasury; his troops revolted for want of pay, and he was hopelessly in debt. He could neither pay off the instalments due to his allies, nor could he find funds for his own extravagant expenses. He is said to have endeavoured to fill his coffers by plundering native chiefs. The Calcutta Council, justly or unjustly regarding him as the sole cause of his own misfortunes, resolved to depose him in favour of his son-in-law Mir Kasim, who promised to live under British protection. On this transaction Elphinstone remarks: "Never was a revolution effected on more slender grounds, nor a greater scandal than the deposal of a prince by the same body which had so lately raised itself to a power by a solemn engagement to support his title." Mir Kasim was accordingly proclaimed Nawab, and took up his residence at Calcutta. He had engaged to pay large sums of money to the Company and its servants; and, when he was unable to pay all that he had promised, he made over the revenues of the rich districts of Burdwan, Chittagong and Midnapur to the Company. This was the first territorial acquisition on a large scale of the East India Company. For the services of the Council twenty lakhs of rupees

were allotted, of which three lakhs went to Mr. Holwell and six lakhs to Mr. Vansittart. Bitter quarrels arose in the Council between those who had and those who had not received a share of the booty. In the meantime the Emperor was on the borders of Bengal, with the intention of seizing a favourable opportunity of attacking it. In 1761 Major Carnac, in command of the British troops, advanced on the Emperor's camp and defeated him. Carnac invited the Emperor to Patna; he was an honoured guest in the English camp. Mir Kasim, jealous and alarmed, had to submit to be created Viceroy of Bengal by the Emperor, agreeing to pay to him twenty-four lakhs of rupees a year,—a miserable sum when one remembers that the early Viceroys had, after deducting local expenditure, sent a million sterling a year to the imperial treasury.

British Misrule and War with Mir Kasim.—

Mir Kasim was a firm and upright ruler, and as he had undertaken to make such large payments, he was determined to improve his revenue by all lawful means. His efforts to do so brought him into conflict with the Company. The Company enjoyed the privilege of trading duty-free, on payment of a small annual fixed sum. The Company's servants at this time asserted their claim to share in this privilege, and they even allowed their native favourites to take advantage of it in their trade. Mir Kasim thereupon abolished the transit duties altogether, and this led to a quarrel. Finding that the Company had really become masters of the country he had already removed his capital to Monghyr, where, beyond the observation of the British, he began to make preparations for war. The relations between the Nawab and the British became more and more strained till in 1763 Mr. Ellis, the head of the factory at Patna, seized the town, and was in turn seized and imprisoned with his companions. Mir Kasim's armies were twice defeated at Catwah, and Gheria: the Nawab

himself fled to Oudh. While on his way he caused a number of British prisoners to be massacred at Patna. Monghyr was captured and Patna retaken by the British. Mir Kasim had taken refuge with Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh; and when the latter, with the homeless Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam, invaded Bihar, the allies were signally defeated by Major Munro at Baxar (1764). The Vizier of Oudh fled to his country, while the Emperor threw himself on the mercy of the victors.

Clive's Second Administration.—This was the situation in Bengal when Clive returned. On the news of the war between the British and the Nawab of Bengal the Court of Directors had ordered him to return to India. In the interval he had been made a peer. On his return he found that the Council had already reappointed Mir Jafar to be Nawab of Bengal. He at once proceeded to Murshidabad and made a treaty with the Nawab, by which the military defence of the country was entrusted to the English, and the Nawab agreed to carry on the civil administration with 53 lakhs of rupees a year. This was the celebrated 'dual or double government' of Lord Clive. Though the Company had become the real ruler, it did not choose to exercise all the functions of a ruler.

The Diwani of Bengal.—Clive next proceeded to Allahabad where he drew up the terms of a treaty with Shah Alam, and the Nawab of Oudh. Shah Alam, now the Emperor of Delhi, conferred the *Diwani* (that is, the control of the revenues) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa upon the Company subject to the payment of 26 lakhs of rupees a year to himself. The country was confirmed in the possession of all other territories in India. The districts of Allahabad and Kora which were taken from the Vizier of Oudh were made over to the Emperor. The British after the

battle of Baxar were entitled, according to custom, to take possession of Oudh ; Clive, however, made a treaty with the Vizier recognising him as an independent ruler, whose province might serve as a buffer state between Maratha incursions from the north-west and the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Civil and Military Reforms.—After settling these affairs Clive returned to Calcutta, and directed his attention to the wrong doings of the Company's servants. The officials of the Company, ill paid in those days, were in the habit of making money by private trade and by taking presents from natives. He now issued orders forbidding the Company's servants to receive presents or to carry on private trade. The native agents were forbidden to trade under colour of the Company's authority. By way of compensation Clive handed over to the Company's servants part of the profit arising from the monopoly of salt ; but the Directors later on rejected this proposal. The military officers had received after Plassey, for a limited period, extra pay known as ' double batta ' but they now regarded it as a right. Clive cut off this allowances, and when the officers threatened to mutiny, he suppressed the revolt with great tact and daring.

Clive had returned to Bengal in 1765 ; he left Bengal finally in 1767. In two years he had done valuable work. He put an end to anarchy and oppression in Bengal. He laid down the rules for a definite foreign policy and he put the Company's servants in a position to learn how the country should be governed.

Character of Clive and the Results of his Administration.—In private life Clive was kind and exceedingly liberal. Though of a reserve temper and very silent, among his intimate friends he could be lively and pleasant. The ease with which he accepted personal benefits and the somewhat shady transaction with Omichand have

cast blots on his career, which could not be wiped away by his great services. He was as a soldier pre-eminently great. He created an army out of the most unpromising materials, and acquired an influence over his troops which has been rarely equalled. But it was more as a statesman than as a soldier that he was useful to the Company which he so loyally served during the years 1765–1767. Comparing the state of Bengal as Clive found it in 1765, and as he left it in 1767, the Select Committee in a letter addressed to the Directors shortly after his departure from India observed : “ We beheld a Presidency divided, headstrong and licentious ; a government without nerves ; a treasury without money ; and a service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit. We may add that amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and his helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty, and oppression. Such was the condition of this Presidency ; your present situation need not be described. The liberal supplies to China, the state of your treasury, of your investment, of the service, and of the whole country, declare it to be the strongest contrast to what it was.”

Clive established the Company as the responsible ruler of Bengal, no longer managing a puppet Nawab, but openly conducting the administration itself. It was Clive who conquered Bengal ; it was he who laid the foundations of an administration based on sound principles ; it was also he who conceived the still larger plan, which was not carried out till another century had passed, of transferring the sovereignty of the East India Company to the nation. When in England he had suggested the scheme to Pitt ; but his plan never took definite form, and his energies were devoted to establishing a working system under the

Company. None the less is he entitled to the glory of being one of the founders of the British Empire of India.

Northern India and Bengal after the Departure of Clive.—1767-72.—In 1769 the Maratha hosts, having recovered from the terrors of Panipat, advanced into northern India and ravaged Rajputana. The Peshwa sent an embassy to Shah Alam, now under British protection, offering to restore him to his throne if he would place himself under the protection of the Marathas. The bait was too tempting; Shah Alam left the British protection and was crowned at Delhi with great pomp and ceremony by the Peshwa. The Marathas then overran Rohilkhand (1772), laid waste the province, and made a treaty with the Vizier of Oudh as well as the Rohillas, by which they consented to retire on payment of forty lakhs of rupees, guaranteed by Shuja-ud-daulah, the Vizier of Oudh. The latter afterwards refused to pay, with the result that the Marathas prepared to plunder Oudh. But they were suddenly recalled to the Deccan by affairs in progress nearer home. Just about this time Warren Hastings was appointed to carry on the duties of President at Calcutta.

In Bengal the interval of five years between the departure of Clive and the arrival of Hastings was marked by misrule, due to the division of authority between the Company's servants and the officials of the Nawab, and by an awful famine which impoverished the land and is believed to have destroyed a third of the population.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HYDER ALI AND THE FIRST MYSORE WAR.

The Northern Circars.—In 1763 the Peace of Paris recognised Mohammed Ali as Nawab of the Carnatic, and declared Salabat Jang to be Subahdar of the Deccan. Nizam Ali, however, soon displaced the latter. In 1765 when Clive obtained the grant of the *Diwani* he persuaded the Emperor to give up also the Northern Circars to the English. But Nizam Ali refused to hand them over. In their anxiety to secure possession of the districts the British entered into a treaty with the Nizam, agreeing to pay him an annual subsidy of eight lakhs of rupees and to furnish a force for the defence of the districts. A year later they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Nizam, which brought them into conflict with Hyder Ali.

Mysore. The Rise and Progress of Hyder Ali.—From the end of the fourteenth century Mysore have been ruled by a dynasty of Hindu rulers who were feudatories of the kings of Vijayanagar. They had assumed independence on the fall of the latter kingdom, had grown in power, had established their capital at Seringapatam, and had enlarged their boundaries by annexing small kingdoms in their vicinity. The old ruling family came to an end in 1733; and in the anarchy that followed Hyder Ali, a young adventurer, serving as a military officer in the state, rose to the highest position as commander-in-chief and usurped the throne in 1761. He extended his territories by the capture of Bednore and South Canara. This brought him into collision with the Marathas. Being twice defeated,

Hyder bought off the Marathas by the payment of thirty-two lakhs of rupees and the cession of all the territories he had acquired beyond the Mysore frontier.

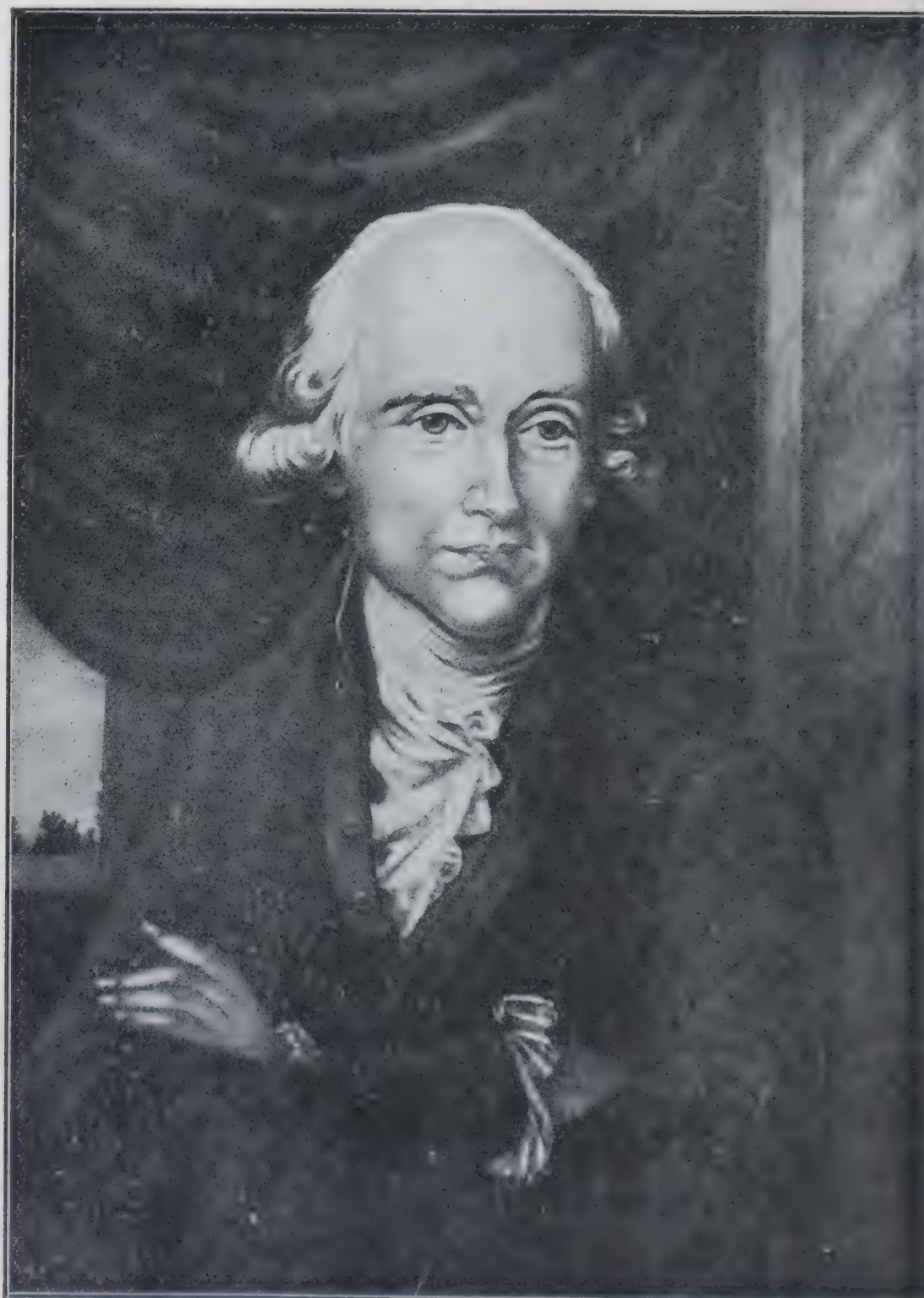
First Mysore War.—1767-1769.—Next year Hyder Ali again assumed the offensive, and captured Calicut and Malabar. The Peshwa then made an alliance with the Nizam and the English, who agreed to treat Hyder as a common enemy to the peace of Southern India. Thus commenced the First Mysore War.

The war commenced with the advance of the Marathas into Hyder's dominions. They, however, drew off their troops when Hyder offered them a large sum of money. The Nizam and the English under Colonel Smith now prepared to attack the enemy ; but the Nizam deserted, and the combined forces of Hyder and the Nizam attacked Colonel Smith at Changama. Smith, though victorious, was obliged to retreat to Madras. In the next year Hyder Ali ravaged the Carnatic, Trichinopoly, Madura and other places and recovered all the districts he had lost. Finally by a rapid and clever movement he evaded the British army, and appeared suddenly and unexpectedly before Madras. The Council of Madras was inefficient, and encumbered with debt. It was unable to pay for men or cattle and the munitions of war. Panic-stricken at the appearance of Hyder the British now entered into an offensive and defensive treaty with him by which each party promised to support the other against its enemies.



HYDER ALI.

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WARREN HASTINGS.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WARREN HASTINGS.

1772—1785.

The Early Career of Warren Hastings.—Warren Hastings, like his predecessor Clive, had come out to India at an early age. Arriving at Calcutta in 1750, he entered the service of *John Company*, as the East India Company was called, and remained there for two years. Then he was sent to the port of Cassimbazar for commercial purposes. Siraj-ud-daulah was at that time ruler of Bengal, and Hastings was employed as a kind of secret agent to ascertain his movement and doings. He then served as a soldier, was present at the battle of Plassey, and was afterwards appointed agent for the Company at Murshidabad. He remained there till 1761 when he became a member of the council and went to reside at Calcutta. There he distinguished himself as a man of high principles and character at a time when the rest of the Company's servants were ruining Bengal by their selfish conduct. Early in 1765 he returned to England, leaving the bulk of his fortune in India. He remained in England for four years, when he applied to the Company for re-employment. He was sent out in 1769 as member of the Council of Madras, and in 1772 was appointed Governor of Bengal.

Condition of Affairs.—1772.—At the time that he was appointed Governor, Bengal was suffering from the effects of a famine; to these were added the worse effects of misrule by the servants of the Company who winked at

the extortions and frauds of the native collectors, while they themselves were not free from evil practices in connection with trade. The Company was cheated; the people were fleeced; nobody profited but the collectors. The Company was sinking deeply into debt, while it had to pay high dividends to the shareholders at home.

Revenue and Judicial Reforms.—Hastings transferred the treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta. He placed the management of the revenue in the hands of European officers called Collectors. When this system did not work well, owing to the inexperience and ignorance of the officers, provincial councils or boards of revenue were created, who leased out lands to the zamindars for five years at fixed rates and supervised the collection of the revenues. (The zamindars were the collectors of the Moghul revenues who had established a hereditary claim on the estates that were really the property of the farmers who cultivated them.) The business of collecting the revenue was thus transferred from native agency to the officials of the Company.

The district Collectors who were Englishmen were also made presidents of the civil and criminal courts of their districts. Courts of appeal were established in Calcutta for civil and criminal cases. Hastings also drew up a simple code of Hindu and Mohammedan Law. Thus the double system of government which Clive had given to Bengal came to an end.

In obedience to the wishes of the Directors, Hastings saved a large sum for the Company by reducing the annual allowance of the boy Nawab of Bengal, and by stopping the grant of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, who had left the British protection.

The Treaty of Benares and the Rohilla War.—Hastings now concluded the Treaty of Benares with the Vizier of Oudh. By this treaty, Allahabad and Kora which

were taken away from the Emperor were made over to the Nawab-Vizier for a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees (1773); and assistance was promised to him in his campaign against the Rohillas for forty lakhs of rupees.

The Rohillas, a wild race of Afghan blood who had settled down in the district known by their name, had promised forty lakhs of rupees, under the guarantee of the Vizier, to the Marathas, when the latter invaded their territories in 1772. The Vizier of Oudh said that these forty lakhs were promised by the Rohillas to himself on his helping them against the Marathas. Whatever the facts, Hastings now helped the Vizier with a brigade under Colonel Champion. The Rohillas were overcome and cruelly exterminated, and their dominions annexed to Oudh (1774).

The Regulating Act of 1773.—Owing to constant wars, the funds of the Company were reduced to so low an ebb that instead of paying the stipulated £400,000 a year to Government, the Company had to demand of Parliament the loan of a million sterling. This was the cause of Parliamentary interference about this time in Indian affairs. Chatham had thought of a Parliamentary inquiry when he was in office; and in 1773 under Lord North's Ministry the first experiment in constitution-making was embodied in Lord North's Regulating Act. It established at Calcutta a Council, consisting of the Governor-General and four members; the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were to be subject to its control. A Supreme Court of Justice was established at Calcutta, with a Chief Justice and three judges nominated by the Crown. No civil or military officer of the Company was to accept presents from any Indian prince or his agents or to engage in any kind of trade.

Effect of the Regulating Act.—The effect of this Act upon the state of the Company at home was beneficial;

but in India it worked less satisfactorily owing to the fact that it had been drawn up by a Parliamentary committee, ignorant of the state of affairs in that country. The Governor-General was to act with the advice of a Council in which he had only an ordinary and a casting vote ; so that if the majority of the Council was opposed to him he was helpless. The precise relations between the Supreme Court of Justice, the Governor-General and the Council were not properly defined. There were thus boundless opportunities for disputes between the three. The one merit of the Act was that it strengthened the British rule by concentrating authority at Calcutta.

Hastings as first Governor-General.—The Regulating Act came into force in India in 1774, and Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India, with four members of council to help him—Francis, Clavering, Monson and Barwell. Sir Elijah Impey was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The three first named members of Council had come out with a strong prejudice against Hastings, determined to prove all his proceedings corrupt. They considered him an oppressor and tyrant. They resolved that the assistance given to the Vizier in the Rohilla War was improper. They made a new treaty with the Vizier by which the province of Benares was ceded to the Company.

Trial of Nandkumar.—When the news of these quarrels got abroad, many came forward with complaints against Hastings. Maharaja Nandkumar was one of them. By the Regulating Act it was declared criminal on the part of a servant of the Company to accept presents from an Indian. Nandkumar charged Hastings with having accepted three and a half lakhs of rupees as a bribe from the widow of Mir Jafar. The Council asked Hastings to refund the moneys to

the Treasury. Three or four days later Hastings brought against Nandkumar an action for conspiracy. While this suit was pending, one Mohan Prasad preferred a charge of forgery against Nandkumar. He was tried before Sir Elijah Impey, condemned and executed (1775). Suspicion has naturally fallen upon Hastings of having instigated this prosecution, but there is nothing to show that Hastings had anything to do with the case. He had himself instituted a case against Nandkumar that was sufficient to crush his enemy.

After the execution of Nandkumar the quarrels in the Council continued for some time ; but the death of Colonel Monson in 1776 placed Hastings in power. Clavering and Francis were opposed to him ; but Barwell was on his side, and he had the casting vote.

The First Maratha War.—For an account see Chapter XXVII.

The Second Mysore War.—1780-1784 —Causes.
—The Madras Government had been obliged to enter into a treaty with Hyder Ali in 1769 by which they had promised to help him against his enemies. Shortly after, when the Marathas invaded his territories, he appealed to the British for help. But it was in vain. Hyder remembered this slight, but bided his time. He bought off the Marathas ; and in the confusion caused by the death of Narayan Rao he subjugated Coorg, and reconquered all the districts of which he had been deprived by the Marathas. When war broke out between France and England in 1778, the British possessed themselves of all French territories in India, including Mahé which was in Mysore territory. Hyder was alive to the importance of French alliance in a war with the British ; he, therefore, gave notice at Madras that Mahé was under his protection, and that they should leave

it untouched. But his protest was disregarded, Mahé was taken, and troops were marched through his territories for that purpose. Hyder now prepared for war.

Progress of the War.—Joined by the French and encouraged by the Marathas, Hyder suddenly overran the Carnatic, captured Arcot, and appeared within nine miles of Madras. His son Tipu laid siege to Wandiwash. Colonel Baillie sent to oppose him was defeated at Conjeevaram and had to surrender with his entire detachment (1780).

Hastings rose to the occasion. Goddard and Popham had already redeemed the honour of British arms in the Maratha war. He hurried on negotiations with the Marathas in order that he may be free to devote his attention to the Carnatic. He sent Sir Eyre Coote to the rescue from Bengal. Coote relieved Wandiwash and defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo and Pollilore (1781). The Dutch also declared war against Britain at this time, and the British captured Negapatam from them. By the end of 1781 the Mysore ruler was still powerful in the Carnatic. The Marathas were in no haste to come to terms, and the French fleet under Suffren was soon to appear in Indian waters.

In the next year a detachment of British soldiers and sepoys under Colonel Braithwaite was surrounded and cut to pieces. Suffren arrived with his fleet and landed 2000 French troops who joined the forces of Tipu in an attack on Cuddalore which was forced to surrender. At this juncture the British were relieved by the news of Hyder's death. Tipu, after his father's death, proceeded to the Malabar coast to oppose a British force sent from Bombay. Hastings was straining every nerve to defeat Tipu Sultan, but the Council at Madras concluded peace with him in 1784, by signing the Treaty of Mangalore. Prisoners were to be mutually given up and each party was to restore places taken from the other.

Quarrels between the Supreme Court and the Governor-General in Council.—The judges of the Supreme Court affected to consider themselves supreme over all departments of the public service and even assumes the attitude of censors over the acts of Government. The revenue system was thrown out of order by the conduct of the judges. The Government had passed regulations that the zamindars, as collectors of the revenue, were liable to arrest and punishment in case of default. Following this rule the judges sometimes seized the Rajas who were zamindars and threw them into prison. The credit of the zamindars was impaired, and the ryots often refused to pay their rents. These troubles were brought to a climax by the Cossijurah case. A revenue case was brought in the Supreme Court against the Raja of Cossijurah, a man of eminence. Bail was demanded, and the Court officers wanted to serve the summons on the Raja himself. On being refused admittance, they forced their way into the private apartments, desecrated the sanctuary of the zenana, and actually carried off the family idol as security for his appearance. Warren Hastings now interfered, gave his protection to the Raja, and issued a general order to the natives that they were not to consider themselves amenable to the Supreme Court in civil matters. In retaliation the judges sent a summons to the Council and the Governor-General for contempt of court. These quarrels led to the remodelling of the judicial administration in Bengal.

Judicial Reforms.—Hastings now separated the Revenue from the Civil administration, these having been hitherto combined in one official. He left the revenue administration with the provincial courts, and entrusted the civil administration to the civil courts which he established in

each district. He created an appeal from both these separate jurisdictions to the *Sudder Diwani Adalut*, of which court he made Sir Elijah Impey the Chief Justice. He made a code in 95 sections which was found so admirable that on it has been founded the basis of all subsequent arrangements.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

WARREN HASTINGS. (*CONTINUED.*)

The Raja of Benares.—The prolonged wars with the Marathas and Mysore had emptied the Company's treasury. The Court of Proprietors grumbled at the expenditure, and Hastings was anxious to find means to replenish the Company's Coffers. Benares, under its Raja Chait Singh, had been recently transferred to the British by the Vizier of Oudh. The Raja was to pay a fixed annual sum to the British to maintain troops, and to be responsible for the maintenance of order for the State. He had also bound himself to supply the British with money and men in times of need. During the late wars Hastings had called upon him to send some troops. But he had sent none. This was a serious matter, and he was ordered to pay a fine of fifty lakhs of rupees. Chait Singh hesitated; Hastings went to Benares to demand the payment, determined to eject him if he refused. Chait Singh was arrested, but escaped. In the meantime the Raja's troops rose in his favour, a company of sepoy was cut to pieces, and Hastings had to retire to Chunar. The rising was ultimately suppressed, and the province of Benares was given to Chait Singh's nephew.

The Begums of Oudh.—But his financial difficulties were not at an end. Asaf-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh, owed the British about two crores of rupees; but he had no means of paying this large sum. His father had left about two crores of rupees and extensive estates to the Begums, his stepmother and grandmother, and Asaf-ud-daula had been trying to get possession of this treasure

which, he thought, by law belonged to the State. The majority of the Council, at the time that his father died, were hostile to Hastings and they had supported the claims of the Begums giving them a guarantee on the part of the Company. Asaf-ud-daula now reminded Hastings of these circumstances, and asked for his assistance in seizing the treasure. The Begums, moreover, had helped Chait Singh in his rebellion. It was, therefore, necessary that they should be punished. Hastings signed a treaty with the Nawab-Vizier allowing him to resume the *jagirs* of the Begums and to recover from them the treasure of which he had been deprived. The Begums resisted. Ultimately their estate and treasure were seized and the Nawab's debt was paid. The seizure was attended with circumstances of cruelty and torture which were subsequently used against Hastings who was charged with having connived at them.

The Work of Warren Hastings.—In 1785 Hastings retired from India. For seven years the British had been fighting with one or both of the two great powers in India, the Marathas and Mysore. For almost the whole of that time Britain was fighting on the other side of the globe with three great maritime powers in Europe. By sea she had held her own. In India she had also held her own, relying on the resources of Bengal, and on the foresight and ability of Hastings. He had saved Bombay ; he had held the Marathas in check. He had conciliated Sindhia, turned the Nizam into an ally and had supported the Madras Government in its weakness. He had, by his resolution, his audacity, his organising capacity, and in part by his disregard of conscientious scruples, established the Company as a first class territorial power. The part he played in the Rohilla War, his treatment of the Raja of Benares and his complicity in the cruelties practised by the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh, exposed him to the condemnation of

Englishmen. His old school-fellow, the poet Cowper, after his famous trial at Westminster Hall, wrote about him lines which may still be remembered :

"Hastings ! I knew thee young, and of a mind,
While young, humane, conversable and kind,
Nor can I well believe thee, gentle then,
Now grown a villain, and the worst of men."

Hastings was not free from blame ; but his offences are cast into the shade when one remembers his services and surveys his whole career.

His Trial.—On his arrival in England Hastings was received well by the authorities, but his enemies impeached him in Parliament for high crimes. After a trial, which lasted for seven years, the House of Lords pronounced him "not guilty" ; but the trial made him poor, and the East India Company, in consideration of his great services, granted him a pension.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LORD CORNWALLIS.

1786 — 1793.

Pitt's India Act, 1784.—In England the North Ministry had given way and under the Coalition Ministry of Fox and North, it was thought necessary to put an end to the almost chaotic state of affairs which marked the home administration of the Company. The House of Commons had censured Hastings and Impey; the Court of Directors had voted their recall; but the Court of Proprietors had set both at defiance and negatived the order. Accordingly Fox brought in a Bill for the better Government of India. This bill was thrown out by the Lords, and led to the resignation of the Ministers. Pitt the Younger now became Prime Minister and he carried through Parliament a bill which was to be known as Pitt's India Bill. Each of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay was to have its own Governor and its own Commander-in-chief, but the Governor and Commander-in-chief of Bengal were to be supreme over the other two provinces. The Governor-General was now to have full powers, and they were so far increased at the suggestion of Lord Cornwallis, that he could act on emergency without his Council. The number of Councillors was also reduced from four to three. The practice was now commenced and maintained of appointing to the office

of Governor-General some one who had not been trained in the Eastern atmosphere, and of making his Council consist of Oriental experts, men in the Company's service, who might bring their mature experience to bear on the conduct of affairs. The Act established in England a Board of Control, consisting of six members, the President of which was virtually a Secretary of State for India. It curtailed the power of the Directors by appointing a secret committee of three for the despatch of urgent business. The commercial monopoly of the Company was preserved and the Directors empowered to manage all commercial affairs.

The immediate effect of the Act was a great improvement in the government of India, as it removed the checks and hindrances which had brought about the quarrels between Hastings and his council. Its main purpose was to transfer ultimately the government of India from the hands of the Company into those of the Crown, and it prepared the way for this transfer by keeping up the old forms and appearances of the Company's rule while in reality it placed the control of affairs in the hands of a minister directly responsible to Parliament. *

Lord Cornwallis.—The first Governor-General appointed under the new system was Lord Cornwallis, who possessed the full confidence of the country though he had been in command at Yorktown when it was forced to surrender.* The appointment was made in accordance with a rule which was generally followed hereafter, that while the Council should consist of members of the Indian service, the Governor-General should be a person trained in another arena. Cornwallis reached India in 1786 with the intention of carrying out a policy not of expansion, but of consolidation. Pitt's India Act had laid down a policy of

* The surrender of the British at Yorktown, in 1781, ended the American War and assured the independence of the United States.

non-intervention, forbidding the Company to enter into alliances, offensive, or defensive, with the Princes of India, or to declare war without the consent of the Board of Control. This policy agreed with the personal views and wishes of Cornwallis, who looked forward to increasing the happiness and prosperity of the Company's subjects, by introducing reforms into the system of government.

The Third Mysore War.—1790-1792.—Causes.—

In spite of his desire to keep the peace Cornwallis was drawn into a war with the Mysore state. The first friction between the British and Tipu arose out of a treaty with the Nizam made by the British in 1768 by which the Gunttoor Circar was promised to the Company. The Company demanded this territory from the Nizam ; and the Nizam expressed his readiness to give the territory provided the British observed their portion of the same treaty, namely, to conquer the Carnatic Balaghat from Hyder Ali's family. Cornwallis replied by promising him the aid of British troops against any power not in alliance with English ; and from the list of allies mentioned in the reply Tipu's name was omitted. This gave mortal offence to Tipu. He invaded the territory of the Raja of Travancore, who was under the Company's protection. When the Raja of Travancore appealed for help Cornwallis made a triple alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam against Tipu.

Progress of the War.—Owing to the neglect of the Madras Government the Madras army found itself in difficulties from want of supplies. It captured Coimbatore and attempted to advance to Seringapatam, but was obliged to fall back. Cornwallis now came to the south to conduct operations in person in 1791. He carried Bangalore by storm and marched to Seringapatam. The news of the capture of Bangalore induced the Nizam, who had been



LORD CORNWALLIS.

Photo. Johnston and Shepherd, India



TIPU.

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hitherto wavering in his adherence, to send to the aid of Cornwallis a force of ten thousand horse. The united armies fought and defeated Tipu's forces at Arikera, but the failure of his supplies and the loss of his cattle obliged Cornwallis to bury his guns and fall back. His Maratha allies had also failed to join him. At Bangalore he refitted his army, and then marched again upon the capital in January 1792. Tipu's troops were attacked and driven into Seringapatam and preparations were made for a regular siege. Tipu, however, sued for peace at this stage. He agreed to pay 300 lakhs of rupees as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, to surrender half of his kingdom, and to give up two of his sons as hostages. Of the territories thus gained by the Company portions were handed over to the Marathas and to the Nizam; while the British kept for themselves the districts on the frontiers of the Carnatic and the Malabar coast.

Cornwallis criticised.—Cornwallis rigidly adhered to the terms of the tripartite treaty made at the commencement of the war with the Peshwa and the Nizam, although both of them had lent very little effective assistance to the British. One-third, including the Carnatic Balaghat, was given to the Marathas, one-third to the Nizam, while the Company retained Dindigal and Baramahal with the country round, together with some tracts about Bombay. Cornwallis was severely censured in the House of Commons for this annexation which it was pointed out was a breach of his promise to the nation. But it was evident that the policy was forced on him by the position of affairs. It was necessary to punish Tipu with severity in order to teach him a lesson which might prevent him from again undertaking a war; and to dispossess him of territories which his father and himself had won with such difficulty was the only way of teaching him a lesson and of weakening his power.

Judicial Reforms.—Before the arrival of Cornwallis the Company's civil servants were both judges of the Civil Court and Collectors of the public revenue. Cornwallis deprived the revenue Collectors of all judicial power and confined their duties to the mere collection of the public dues. The new system was an advantage to the natives who had hitherto to pay their rents and to plead their suits before the same officer. The office of Naib Nizam was also abolished, and the Company assumed the civil jurisdiction over the whole country.

Civil and Criminal Courts.—The lowest grade of civil courts in the districts were the *courts of native commissioners* which were now established in every important town and were conducted by *Moonsiffs* or native justices. They had original jurisdiction in cases of the value of rupees fifty and under. Next in order were the *Zillah* or district and the city courts, entitled to take cognisance of all civil causes of whatever nature and whatever amount. A single judge, a covenanted servant of the Company, with a Mohammedan and Hindu assessor, presided in these courts; only the other officer was a Registrar, also a covenanted servant, who, in order to relieve the business of the court, had a primary jurisdiction in all cases not exceeding rupees two hundred. All the officers of government were made amenable to these courts for acts done in their official capacities. Above the *zillah* and city courts were four *provincial courts*, established in Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad and Calcutta. The chief business of these courts was to decide appeals from the *zillah* and city courts. In each of these courts there were three European judges. In all cases where the amount in dispute was less than rupees one hundred their decisions were final, but in all other cases an appeal lay from the provincial court to the *Sudder Diwani Adalat* at Calcutta, presided over by the Governor-General and members of Council.

The criminal courts were practically composed of the same judges as those of the civil courts. Thus the zillah and city judges were appointed to act as magistrates within their respective jurisdictions. In like manner the judges of the provincial courts were to hold courts of circuits with their respective divisions for holding criminal sessions. They had original jurisdiction in all cases sent up to them by the magistrate's courts for trial, and appellate jurisdiction from the decisions of the same courts. *The Sudder Nizamut Adalut* was the highest criminal court held at Calcutta for all appeals from sentences of the lower courts. The Governor-General had supreme power of pardon and of commutation of sentences.

The Code of 1793.—In 1793 the Governor-General issued a complete code of regulations, which not only explained every part of the new judicial system introduced, but was made patent to all who were interested in it, by being printed and published both in English and in translations for the use of the natives. The code was declared to be the standard by which the courts should be guided, and an important check was provided against arbitrary proceedings.

Revenue Reforms.—The Permanent Settlement.
—Akbar had caused a survey to be made of the Empire; the lands were classified, and the revenue fixed accordingly. This system had survived without many changes when the English acquired supremacy in Bengal.

The revenue was collected under the Moghuls by officers known as zamindars who paid to the Treasury a certain fixed sum, and had the right of levying cesses on the cultivators. All that the zamindars could thus obtain, over and above the fixed revenue which they paid to the Treasury, belonged to themselves. This system placed the cultivators completely in the hands of the zamindars.

Warren Hastings had leased out the right to collect the revenues for terms of five and ten years by auction to the zamindars or others who bid for the office. Subsequently the zamindars were granted annual leases to collect the revenue. This system did not work well; and the Directors recommended that the experiment of making a ten years' lease or settlement with the zamindars for collecting the revenue should be tried. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis, going beyond his instructions, recognised the zamindars of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa as the absolute owners of the soil, and made a permanent settlement of the land revenue with them instead of with the cultivators. As a matter of fact the real owners of the soil were the cultivators or local chiefs whilst the zamindars were only collectors of revenue who had gradually made their office hereditary. The idea of Cornwallis was to make the zamindar feel that he was not going to be displaced, and that, if he spent his money on improvements, the Government would not step in and demand an increased rent from him. To secure this object the land was assessed; the rent or tax to be paid by the zamindar was then fixed, and this was established in permanence.

Results of the Permanent Settlement.—The actual result was that the zamindars of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa became a loyal body; but they did not introduce agricultural improvements, as was expected. Nor did they encourage the cultivators by generous treatment to improve their estates. In the long run, moreover, the Company and the British Government have lost much revenue by the Permanent Settlement. For, whereas the value and area of rented land has increased immensely, as also the income of the zamindars, the Government to-day is receiving just the same revenue as it did in 1793. Finally, the settlement did not provide against tyranny and extortion; it left no remedies to the tenants against rapacious landlords.

Retirement of Cornwallis. Review of his Administration.—Cornwallis retired from India at the close of 1793, just when Great Britain had declared war against the Revolutionary Government in France. His reforms, though by no means free from faults, were carried on not by fits and starts, but on a regular plan, embracing almost every department of the public service. He was, both in theory and practice, the declared enemy of all corruption, and never made an appointment without preferring the candidate whom he thought to be the best qualified to perform the duties; whereas under his predecessors and successors every kind of jobbery prevailed. Thus he introduced a new era in the administration, making it purer than it had ever been.

CHAPTER XL.

SIR JOHN SHORE.

1793 — 1798.

The intention of those who had framed the new constitution for India was that the Governor-General should be chosen from among men in England who combined social position with political ability, and who were free from the prejudices likely to be produced by service in the country itself. But it was not easy at times to find such men; and Cornwallis was actually succeeded by an Indian official, Sir John Shore, who had already been useful in arranging the Permanent Settlement.

Career of Mahadaji Sindhia.—The Treaty of Salbai had recognised Mahadaji Sindhia as an independent prince. Urged on by ambition he journeyed to Delhi in 1784, and obtained from the powerless Emperor the command-in-chief of the royal forces and a gift of the provinces of Agra and Delhi. He attacked the Rajputs with his own as well as the Imperial troops, but suffered a defeat. Agra was captured by Ismael Beg and the Rohillas under Gholam Kadir. Sindhia was defeated. The Rohillas captured Delhi and spent two months in sacking the city: their cruelty culminated in the act of blinding the Emperor whom they had taken captive. In 1788, however, the tide turned. Sindhia recaptured Delhi, restored the Emperor to the throne and spent his time in raising a splendid army officered by Europeans — French, English and Irish. By 1791 Sindhia had one of the finest armies in India. He led a successful campaign against the Rajputs and obtained for the Peshwa from

the Emperor Shah Alam the title of *Vakil-i-Mutlak* (Regent of the Empire), and for himself and his heirs the title of hereditary deputies. When Sindhia invested the Peshwa at Poona with the insignia of office the Peshwa placed him on a seat next his own, as the highest dignitary in the State and equal to Nana Farnavis. Between Sindhia and Nana Farnavis there now grew up a bitter hatred ; and there ensued a series of plots and counter-plots which constitute the great interest of the Maratha history of this period. Mahadaji Sindhia died in 1794, and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Daulat Rao Sindhia, by far the most powerful of the Maratha chieftains.

The Battle of Kurdla (1795).—Sir John Shore was an advocate of the non-intervention policy ; he did not think it right for the British to take sides in the quarrels of Indian princes. He, therefore, refrained from entering into fresh alliances with the princes. The Marathas were quick to observe that the new Governor-General would not act as a check on their ambitions, and they saw a favourable opportunity for crushing the Nizam of Hyderabad. Cornwallis, it will be remembered, had signed in 1790 a 'Tripartite Treaty' between the Nizam, the Marathas and the British Government ; it was an offensive and defensive alliance against their common enemy Tipu. He had afterwards sought to change this alliance into a 'Guarantee Treaty' to the effect that, if one of these powers went to war with Tipu for an illegal object, the others would not be bound by the treaty. This guarantee treaty had been accepted by the Nizam but avoided by the Marathas who now proceeded to attack the Nizam. Sir John Shore thought he was not called upon to defend the Nizam as the old tripartite treaty was no longer in force. Nana Farnavis led the forces of the Marathas. The Nizam suffered a fatal defeat at Kurdla (Kharda) in 1795, and was obliged to cede to the victors portions of his territories and to pay them three crores of rupees.

Some Results of the Non-intervention Policy.—

The attitude of non-intervention taken up by Sir John Shore had resulted in the introduction of French influence at Hyderabad. Left to face the Marathas alone, the Nizam had been obliged to take into his service a number of French officers who disciplined and commanded his forces. Similarly this attitude of the Governor-General led the Marathas and Tipu to believe that the power and influence of the British were waning and strengthened them in their policy of aggression. What Sir John Shore feared was a combination against the English of Mysore and the Marathas; what he hoped for was that these two jealous powers would soon come to blows with each other. But his attitude as a looker-on only made the rival powers more aggressive and more formidable to the British. Tipu, who entertained wild hopes of revenge, thought of seizing all the territories of the Nizam, and negotiated foreign alliances for the purpose of counteracting the British. He pressed the Afghan Amir, Shah Zaman, to invade India; and the Amir not only gave sympathetic assurances, but marched through the Punjab in 1797 and occupied Lahore. He was, however, obliged soon after to return hurriedly home to guard his own provinces from the Persians.

Dealings with Oudh.—Asaf-ud-daula died in 1797 and was succeeded by a reputed son Vazir Ali. But Vazir Ali's claim to the throne was challenged; and on inquiry Sir John Shore was convinced that he was not a son of the late Nawab at all. Moreover, the country was impoverished by misrule and reduced to a condition of disorder. The Governor-General, in spite of all his good intentions, was obliged to interfere. He placed Saadat Ali, a brother of the late Nawab, on the throne, and made a treaty with him, by which it was agreed that a British army should be maintained in Oudh, supported by



MAHADAJI SINDHIA.



MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.

an annual payment of seventy-four lakhs of rupees. The Nawab's own army was to be reduced and Allahabad was to be given to the British. The Nawab at the same time agreed to make no treaties without the consent of the Governor-General. This was a definite assertion of British supremacy in Oudh.

Mutiny of Officers in Bengal.—The military officers of the Company were as a rule paid less highly than those of the civil service. They, therefore, demanded an increase of pay, and on being refused became openly mutinous. Sir John Shore collected troops and ordered a fleet from Madras to Calcutta; but ultimately the mutinous spirit was quelled by concessions, and order was restored (1796).

Retirement of Sir John Shore. Review of his Administration.—Sir John Shore returned to England in 1798 and on his arrival was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth. His administration may be considered as having tested the system of neutrality laid down by the legislature, and proved it to be wanting. In its desire to prevent wars of conquest the legislature had laid down restrictions which precluded the Indian authorities from taking measures of prevention against dangers, and this deprived them of the most effectual means of maintaining peace. The native princes mistook moderation for weakness or selfish policy. Allies were shaken in their confidence and hostile States were strengthened in their preparations for war. The consequences of this policy have been well stated by Sir John Malcolm: "It was proved that no ground of political advantage could be abandoned without being instantly occupied by an enemy; and that to resign influence was not merely to resign power, but to allow that power to pass into hands hostile to the British Government."

CHAPTER XLI.

LORD WELLESLEY.

1798—1805.

Lord Wellesley (Earl Mornington).—Some time before the retirement of Sir John Shore it was arranged that the Marquis Cornwallis was to resume his office of Governor-General. But a mutiny of sailors at Portsmouth, the expected landing of French soldiers in Ireland, and differences of opinion between himself and the Board of Control on the question of concessions to European military officers in India, made him resign his appointment; and the office of Governor-General was conferred on the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley. The latter was intimately connected with the family of Cornwallis whose uncle had been his tutor at Eton. Wellesley had personal claims of a high order. In the House of Lords he had already given evidence of distinguished talents; and as Lord of the Treasury he had been afforded ample opportunity of proving his aptitude for business. In 1795 he was made Commissioner of the Board of Control, and thus during the two years preceding his appointment his attention had been mainly directed to Indian subjects.

The Situation of Affairs in India.—The leading idea by which British statesmen in India had hitherto been guided was to preserve a sort of balance of power between the three great powers in the South, the Nizam, the Marathas and Mysore. In the Third Mysore War, Cornwallis had Tipu completely in his power, but he had not destroyed

him; he had only reduced his territories and influence. Sir John Shore's policy of non-interference had supervened, with the result that matters had assumed a critical aspect for the British in 1798. Tipu had been humbled, but he was all the more eager for revenge; and he was carefully improving his resources. He sent an embassy to the Isle of France (Mauritius) and the French promised him an offensive and defensive alliance. He had French officers in his pay, and French citizens were asked by their Mauritius governor to take service with Tipu. The Nizam was justly offended with the Company which had brought about his fatal defeat at Kurdla by the policy of non-interference. He had dismissed the English from his service and kept a French army of 14,000 men under Raymond. Sindhia, one of the greatest powers in India, had an army of 40,000 men officered by French men. It was evident that the French were regaining their influence in India; and this at a time when France was under the guidance of a military genius like Napoleon, who was now making Egypt the centre of his operations—Egypt which was considered to be the half-way house to India.

The Fourth Mysore War, 1799.—It was Tipu who required immediate attention when Wellesley arrived in India. Wellesley began by persuading the Nizam to disband the French corps and to receive in their place a British force. He then earnestly pressed Tipu to make an amicable agreement, reject the French alliance, and accept the presence of a British Resident. But all was in vain; and he was obliged to declare war early in 1799. His decision may have been hurried by the news that the ruler of Afghanistan had arrived at Lahore and was preparing for a further invasion of Hindustan. A large British army, which was joined by a part of the Nizam's forces, marched from Vellore under General Harris

towards Seringapatam. One of Tipu's armies was totally routed at Sedasir and the other, under Tipu himself, at Malevelli, whence he was obliged to retreat to Seringapatam. Then followed the siege of Seringapatam. A breach was made in the wall of the city, and the British advanced to the assault. After a deadly struggle between the hostile forces the capital was captured. Tipu himself was slain in the struggle. His dead body was discovered near the breach, shot through the head, and wounded in many places with sword cuts and bayonet stabs. The kingdom of Tipu was destroyed along with him. A large portion of his territory was assigned to the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore under British protection. The Marathas were offered the north-western districts on condition of an undertaking to employ no Europeans without the Company's consent; but they rejected the terms. The territory was thereupon divided between the Nizam and the British. The Nizam received further accessions to his dominions in the shape of districts from Chitaldrag to Gutti, while the English took over the rest of the unassigned territories.

Results of the War.—The war finally removed a formidable enemy of the British in the South. It gave them complete command over the sea-coast of the lower peninsula, and thus diminished the chances of a French attack by the sea. It also led directly to the incorporation of the Carnatic into British territories. The nominal Nawab was found to have kept up a secret correspondence with Mysore and was accordingly removed from office. His territories were brought under British administration (1801).

The System of Subsidiary Alliances.—The object of Wellesley was to establish British supremacy in India by a system of subsidiary treaties which would deprive

the native States of the means of combining together or of waging war against the British. He had resolved to offer to all the rulers with whom the British had come into contact treaties by which they might be induced to reduce their armies, and to rely upon the British armies for defence against enemies and for internal security. Large sums had been hitherto spent by the native rulers in maintaining ill-managed and insubordinate bodies of troops, and in carrying on constant wars against one another. These rulers might economise their revenues, get rid of mutinous armies, and enjoy peace and tranquillity in their own territories, if they could be induced to enter into agreements with the British who would undertake all military duties for a fixed subsidy. But it usually happened that the native rulers were unable to pay with regularity the subsidy thus agreed upon ; hence instead of fixed money payment it was considered advisable to stipulate for the grant of lands for the payment of the troops. There were at this moment three powerful states in India with whom such subsidiary alliance could be made. Tipu's kingdom had disappeared ; there still remained the Nizam who had been lately treated with such generosity by the British, the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh, and the Marathas.

Subsidiary Treaties with the Nizam and the Vizier of Oudh.—It was not difficult for Wellesley to make a new treaty with the Nizam after the grant to him of Mysore territories on the break-up of that kingdom. In 1800 it was agreed that a British force of 10,000 men should defend the Nizam's dominions and preserve internal peace. The expenses of the force were to be met from the share of Mysore territories which the Nizam had received and which he now handed back. The Nizam also agreed to submit all his disputes to British mediation.

On his return to Bengal the Governor-General made a similar treaty with the Vizier of Oudh. This prince was incapable of defending his territories with his ill-paid and ill-disciplined troops; and Zaman Shah, the Amir of Kabul, was threatening an invasion. Internal disorder was added to the external danger. Under these circumstances the Governor-General forced a new treaty on the Vizier (Treaty of Lucknow, 1801) by which he ceded fresh territories to the British, including Rohilkhand, from which the expenses of the British force were to be met, agreed to disband his own troops, and to reform the administration of the territory left to him.

The Treaty of Bassein, 1802.—The Marathas still remained to be dealt with. But by this time the Directors and Proprietors of the Company had grown thoroughly dissatisfied with the Governor-General's policy of interference in the affairs of the native states. The Ministry also gave him a half-hearted approval. Wellesley therefore resigned his post in 1802; but he was persuaded to remain.

On the death of Nana Farnavis the mutual hostilities between Jaswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindhia had resulted in the helpless Peshwa, Baji Rao II, throwing himself upon British protection. This was the opportunity for which Wellesley had long been waiting; it enabled him to repeat at Poona what he had already accomplished at Hyderabad and Lucknow. The establishment of a strong subsidiary force at Poona would complete the security of the British dominions in India. The Peshwa accepted the British proposals and signed the treaty of Bassein by which he agreed to receive a British force within his dominions, to give to the Company a part of his territories for the upkeep of this force, and to enter on no treaties or wars without the approval of the British.

The Second Maratha War.—We have already seen (Chap. XXVIII) how the treaty of Bassein forced the Maratha chiefs to a war which resulted in establishing the political and military supremacy of the British throughout India. The last of the trained armies of native princes disappeared ; while the rulers of different States were fixed down within territorial limits carefully defined by the British. The titular Emperor, Shah Alam, hitherto at the disposal of any adventurer who could occupy the capital, was reduced to the position of a State pensioner with royal rank, an arrangement which lasted for fifty years until it was extinguished in 1857.

Annexation of Tanjore and Surat.—It remains to mention the annexation of Tanjore and Surat. The affairs of the former State were in disorder, the subjects were overtaxed, and on the death of the Raja the succession was disputed. This was the occasion for annexing the territory and pensioning off the rightful heir (1799).

In Surat, on the death of the ruling Nawab, the entire administration was transferred to the Company (1799).

The Embassy to Persia, 1800.—Zaman Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, had been planning new invasions of India and had several times brought armies to the frontier. He was in correspondence with Tipu, and though the power of Tipu was crushed, the fear of a hostile attack on India had not diminished. The French were also making alliances in the East and intriguing for the co-operation of Persia. A combination of France, Persia and Afghanistan was dreaded at Calcutta, and it was determined to send an embassy to Persia under Captain Malcolm. Malcolm's embassy was completely successful : he was received with distinction and obtained a treaty. The Shah of Persia was to oppose all attacks on India, if necessary by force of arms, and to eject every Frenchman from Persia. He was to give all his

patronage of commerce to England. In return the English agreed to help the Shah of Persia against Zaman Shah, should the latter attack him.

Administrative Reforms.—The Court called the *Sudder Diwani Adalat* had been established by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 with a view to supersede the Supreme Court. The Governor-General and the members of Council presided over it with closed doors. Wellesley found that this mode of administering justice had raised great dissatisfaction. He therefore in 1801 instituted a separate court, open to the public, and presided over by regularly appointed Chief Justices. The first of these was the great Oriental scholar Colebrooke. In the same year he established a Supreme Court at Madras presided over by a Chief Justice and puisne judges.

Another of Wellesley's measures was the establishment of a great college at Calcutta, called the College of Fort William. Its object was two-fold. It was to be a place for the education of the young civilians who came out to India ignorant of the Indian languages and laws, and a place for discussion amongst Indians of questions of law and religion. The Court of Directors, however, confined the work of the college to education of civilians. At the same time they established the College of Haileybury in England for the instruction of *writers* previous to their departure for India.

Wellesley's Recall.—The war with Holkar which had broken out in 1804 had, in the first few months, a rather doubtful outlook so far as the British were concerned. Colonel Monson had been obliged to fall back to Agra and Holkar had laid siege to Delhi. Alarmed by this news the Ministers at home, as well as the Directors, decided to recall the Governor-General, and to send old Cornwallis to reverse his policy and save India. It was evident, however, that the Marathas were being

exhausted in their struggle. Holkar had been defeated at Dig (Nov. 13. 1804) in the interval, and Wellesley's policy was about to be brilliantly borne out by success from a military point of view, when he found himself superseded.

Wellesley's Work.—The net result of the territorial changes effected by Wellesley was to link up, by the acquisition of the Cuttack district, the British possessions in Madras with the Central dominion in Bengal, and, by the occupation of Agra, Delhi and the neighbouring tracts as well as all the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna, to extend the British boundaries from Bengal north-westwards to the mountains. Large and fertile tracts were added to the Presidency of Madras by the partition of Mysore, the annexation of Tanjore and the Carnatic and the cessions from the Nizam; while the Bombay Presidency, hitherto confined to the seaboard, acquired valuable districts in Gujarat. When he arrived in India, Wellesley found the land distracted by war and the British dominions threatened; by subduing the refractory and by drawing into his system of alliances the leading native States, he acquired for Great Britain an Empire in India. From the moment of his arrival he saw clearly that the British in India had advanced so far to recede, and that no alternative was left them but either to gain the whole or lose the whole. The idea of becoming stationary was an absurdity. If they did not advance, they must make up their minds to be given back. If they repudiated the empire placed within their reach, some other power would certainly seize it.

The House of Commons properly declared with reference to charges subsequently brought against Wellesley that he "had been actuated by an ardent zeal for the service of his country, and an ardent desire to promote the safety, interests, and prosperity of the British Empire in India."

CHAPTER XLII.

LORD CORNWALLIS, 1805 ; SIR GEORGE BARLOW,
1805-1807 ; LORD MINTO, 1807-1813.

Lord Cornwallis.—Wellesley was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis who, though old and feeble, had been induced to take up the post of Governor-General once more. He came out with instructions to establish peace, and put a stop to the policy of territorial acquisition. When in England he had condemned the Maratha wars and the 'Treaty of Bassein ; and now on his arrival he was so set on his purpose that he would not even listen to Lord Lake. Shortly after landing he left Calcutta for the seat of war ; but the fatigues of the journey proved too much for the old man and he died at Ghazipur. To quote Sir John Malcolm : " Loaded with years as he was with honour, he desired that his life should terminate as it had commenced ; and he died as he had lived in the active service of his country.' "

Sir George Barlow.—**His Policy of non-intervention.**—The senior member of the Council, Sir George Barlow, was appointed to succeed him. He also was a firm believer in the policy of non-interference. Wellesley had reduced all the native States to despair. What Sir George Barlow should have done was to follow up the military success of Wellesley's times by a policy of firm support to those who had placed themselves under British protection, and a policy of stern insistence of British demands on those who had already been well-nigh crushed. On the contrary the Treaty of Mustafapur with Sindhia

which was concluded in 1805 handed over to the Maratha prince the strong fortresses of Gohud and Gwalior. The Company agreed not to enter into treaties with the Rajahs of Udaipur, Jodhpur and Kottah or other chiefs who were tributaries of Sindhia. The Chambal was to be the boundary between the two States; but as if to confirm the policy of abandonment of allies, a declaratory article was added expressly withdrawing British protection from all the petty States north of the Chambal. Whilst the negotiations with Sindhia were in progress Lord Lake was in pursuit of Holkar. Seeing resistance hopeless Holkar sued for peace. He received back all his territories with a few exceptions, of which the most important were that he should renounce all claims to places north of the Chambal, to Kooch and Bundelkhand, and generally all claims whatever upon the British Government and its allies. The Raja of Jeypore was left a prey to the cruelty of the Marathas. Thus Sir George Barlow broke the engagements made by Wellesley with the Rajput chiefs, and abandoned them to the vengeance of Sindhia and Holkar. The consequence of this policy was a period of anarchy. Central India was torn by the mutual jealousies and quarrels of the native States. Holkar compelled the Raja of Jeypore to pay eighteen lakhs of rupees. The Raja of Bundi also suffered at the hands of this Maratha chief.

The Vellore Mutiny, 1806.—The only other event of importance under the rule of Sir George Barlow was the mutiny of the sepoy's at Vellore. The Commander-in-Chief of Madras introduced several changes into the army. The sepoy's had to put on a particular kind of uniform and head-dress; they were forbidden to wear ear-rings or caste-marks on parade, and to shave their chins and trim their beards. The object was to give the sepoy's a smarter appearance; but the Hindus thought

they saw in these changes an attempt to temper with their religion and caste and to convert them to Christianity. They mutinied and massacred about a hundred European soldiers. The mutiny was suppressed by Colonel Gillespie; about three hundred were killed, a few were hanged, and a large number dismissed. The Mysore princes, the sons of Tipu, who were leaving at Vellore, were suspected of being connected with the mutiny, and were removed to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck was the Governor of Madras at the time of the mutiny. The Directors blamed him and recalled him. There can be no doubt that the mutiny was caused by the absurd attempt to force an obnoxious dress on the sepoys, and it was fostered by the adherents of Tipu's family. The troops believed that the Government was about to compel them to become Christians; and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence and bloodshed.

Review of Sir George Barlow's Administration.

—Barlow's main object in his foreign policy seems to have been to establish himself in the good graces of the Directors by carrying out their instructions. While he was thus proving himself an obedient servant, he was throwing away advantages which had to be regained at a later period with fresh blood and treasure, and lowering the British reputation with foreign States. In his internal administration he appears to somewhat greater advantage. Under Wellesley the expensive wars had led to the accumulation of a large debt; and in order to pay off arrears and to discharge other demands Cornwallis in his second administration had been obliged to appropriate the bullion sent out from England for China. Sir George Barlow began by reducing the regular and irregular troops and thus diminished the monthly charges. He established a system of rigid economy in every branch of the civil

and military expenditure, and called upon the other Presidencies to do likewise. A Governor-General who produced such financial results was a favourite with the Directors; and upon the death of Cornwallis his provisional appointment was made absolute. But the new ministry formed on the death of Pitt in 1806 determined to supersede Sir George, and a quarrel now ensued between the Directors and the Government which ultimately ended in a compromise. Lord Minto, the President of the Board of Control, was appointed Governor-General of India.

Lord Minto.—Lord Minto came out pledged to the policy of non-intervention; but he had not been long in the country before he found that there were more and stronger reasons to justify a forward policy than he had previously allowed.

Affairs in Bundelkhand and Central India.—The condition of anarchy in Central India first attracted his attention. So long as Holkar and Sindhia had been powerful, they had maintained order in their dominions. But now that their power was broken by the English they were unable to keep in check the hordes of plunderers and adventurers who infested the land. They added to the disorder, on the other hand, by plundering themselves. The Rana of Udaipur and the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jeypore asked for British assistance; but though Lord Minto did not go to their help, he was obliged to interfere in Bundelkhand where the lawlessness of the robber chiefs was a menace to the peace of the neighbouring British territory. The campaign lasted from 1807 to 1812; the principal forts of Kalanjar and Ajaigarh were captured and peace was restored to the country. The Pindaris, however, as the Maratha free-booters of Central India were then known, freely roamed over the country under the leadership of Ameer Khan and made the most of a happy time.

The Embassies to Persia, Kabul and Sindh.—

From the days of Lord Wellesley the great object of the Company's rulers in India had been to guard against the possibility of French troops being thrown into India by sea to co-operate with the native princes. The rise of Bonaparte and his early designs on Egypt lent support to this fear. But when the designs of Bonaparte were foiled at the battle of the Nile and the possibilities of a French naval expedition to India were finally ended at Trafalgar, the danger which British statesmen in India apprehended was the danger of an invasion overland, from the side of Persia and Afghanistan. It was France at first, and then Russia, whose alleged designs on India were to prove a source of constant terror and apprehension to the British rulers of India. Already in 1800 an embassy had been sent to Persia under Captain Malcolm and a treaty made with Persia to counteract French designs. When Lord Minto arrived in India, Persia was involved in a war with Russia and appealed to the British. The appeal was declined and she turned to Napoleon. A French embassy arrived and was about to complete arrangements adverse to both Russia and Britain when the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) changed the French policy towards Russia. There was work now for a British envoy at Tehran. Lord Minto despatched Malcolm, and simultaneously the Ministry in England sent Sir Harford Jones. For some time there were quarrels between the two ambassadors, but they were ultimately pacified; henceforward British diplomacy in Persia was to be controlled not from India but from Westminster. A treaty was made with Persia by which the Shah agreed to resist the passage of any European force through his territories, while the British engaged to help him with troops or money if his dominions were invaded.

The same anxiety as to the possibilities of an European attack overland induced Lord Minto to send ambassadors to Kabul and Sindh, who succeeded in making treaties of friendship, not of very great value.

Treaty with Ranjit Singh, 1809.—The Sikhs under the rule of Ranjit Singh had grown into a strong military power. Some of their numbers had crossed the Sutlej and made war on the chiefs of Sirhind. Lord Minto felt that it would never do to have Ranjit Singh as his next door neighbour. He resolved, therefore, to depart from his policy of non-intervention, and to take the Sirhind chiefs under his protection. Metcalfe was sent to conclude a treaty with Ranjit Singh, and this was concluded at Amritsar in 1809. Ranjit Singh agreed to withdraw his claims on Sirhind, and friendly relations were established.

Capture of Mauritius and Java.—The French naval station at Mauritius was a standing danger to the East India Company. Minto sent an expedition which led to the capture of the island (1810). Shortly afterwards Java was taken from the Dutch. Lord Minto had accompanied the force to Java and on his return to India he found a new Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, appointed to supersede him.

The Rise of the Pindaris.—Lord Minto begged in vain of the Home Government for permission to destroy the roving tribes of Central India, named Pindaris, who carried to an extreme all the predatory methods characteristic of the Marathas. The Marathas, however, had a country and a home to which they were fondly attached, and they had regular occupations which they followed in the intervals. Their chiefs desired not only to enrich themselves by booty but also to acquire political power. The Pindaris on the contrary were nothing more than robbers, elevated by their number into armies. Their boast was not that they were able to fight with disciplined troops, but that they could elude them.

Accustomed to rapid movements, and obliged to employ expeditious modes of extracting treasures, they inflicted merciless tortures on their victims to obtain money. Their numbers were continually augmented by disbanded soldiers, and by idlers and desperadoes. They first came into notice under the Peshwa Baji Rao, and in later years fought under the standard of the chieftain who promised the largest payment for their services. In 1808 two brothers, Haran and Baran, were their leaders. On their death a Jat, named Chitu, took the command. Sindhia gave him a small *jaqir* in return for his assistance. Sometime later Chitu joined Ameer Khan, the great Rohilla free-booter, and with an army of 60,000 men proceeded to plunder Central India. Lord Minto wrote to the Home Government in the strongest manner to allow him to crush these adventurers for the sake of peace in India; but the Board of Control declined to listen to him, adhering to the doctrine of non-intervention.

Lord Minto's Home Administration.—The British Government in India, drawing now from its own possessions a secure and ample revenue, could afford to regulate its dealings with the Indian princes by settled treaties and to adjust them on the basis of their subordinate relationship. So also the Indian Government had now a little leisure for looking into the condition of her domestic administration and bringing the great provinces which had been recently acquired into some kind of order. It was about this period that the *ryotwari* system, established by Sir Thomas Munro, was first recognised as the basis of the revenue administration of the Madras Presidency, though it was not permanently recognized till 1820. The peculiarity of the settlement was that it dispensed with middle-men, and brought the ryot into immediate contact with Government. An annual adjustment was made with each

individual cultivator, by fixing a maximum money rent according to the quantity, fertility and estimated produce of the land he actually cultivated. Should the sum thus fixed prove eventually excessive, reductions were made. The great objections to this settlement were the amount of labour entailed on the collectors and the constant fluctuations it caused in the amount of revenue.

From a financial point of view Lord Minto's administration was eminently successful. The continuation of peace enabled him to give effect to the system of economy which his predecessor commenced ; and in the second year of his administration the annual deficit disappeared, and a surplus of revenue over expenditure was obtained. The Governor-General also took a kind of personal interest in native literature and extended a liberal patronage to those who cultivated it. He tried to carry out Wellesley's views in founding the College of Fort William, and proposed a plan for the foundation of Hindu Colleges at Nadiya and Tirhoot, with a view to encourage native literature.

Renewal of the Charter.—In 1793 the Charter of the East India Company, giving them the monopoly of Eastern trade, had been renewed for twenty years. In 1813, when it became a matter for consideration whether the Charter should be renewed or not, there was a great deal of discussion in England between those who were interested in the monopoly of the Company and those who wished that the trade should be thrown open to all. At last a compromise was agreed upon, by which a distinction was made between the trade with India and the trade with the China seas. Parliament renewed the Company's Charter for a further period of twenty years, on the condition that while the Indian trade was thrown open to all, the trade with the China seas was to remain the exclusive privilege of the Company.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

1813—1823.

The Marquis of Hastings.—Lord Moira, who was afterwards created Marquis of Hastings, was fifty-nine years old when he came to India. He had seen active service in his youth, and had come out with the intention of avoiding war and acquisition of territory. But like Lord Minto he found circumstances too strong for him, and he was obliged to proceed with a firm hand in suppressing anarchy and disorder as well as aggression.

The Nepal War, 1814-1816.—The Gurkhas of Nepal were a race of Rajputs who had conquered and settled in the region known as the "Terai" at the base of the Himalayas. They had gradually extended the boundaries of their kingdom till they touched the Company's territories. They now continued their encroachments on British territory, in spite of repeated warnings. In 1813 the Gurkhas had seized a district comprising two hundred villages, under British protection, in the annexed territories of Oudh. In the commencement of 1814 Lord Moira peremptorily asked for the cession of these villages within twenty-five days. The Gurkhas' only answer was the murder of a British officer in Butwal. Lord Moira at once declared war against them. A British army under General Ochterlony entered Nepal. General Gillespie captured the fort of Kalanga but experienced a reverse at Jaitak. Ochterlony however captured the fortress of Maloun (1815). Jaitak was also captured and the Gurkhas

were defeated at Almora. Discouraged and alarmed for the safety of their capital, they sued for peace. The terms were being drawn up, when the bravest of the Nepalese commanders, Amar Singh, advised the Nepal Council to continue the war. General Ochterlony was now ordered to continue his advance. He defeated a Gurkha army at Makwanpur, captured Hariharpur, and was within twenty miles of Khatmandu, when the Nepalese came to terms and signed the Treaty of Sigauli (1816) by which the British obtained possession of Kumaun, Garhwal, and the districts between the Jumna and the Sutlej.

The Pindari War, 1817.—The abandonment of Wellesley's schemes and the adoption of the policy of non-intervention had brought about in Central India a condition of anarchy. The Pindaris roamed at large, even ravaging the British districts of the Northern Circars and Orissa. The hordes who carried on this work of organised plunder were partly made up of the professional soldiers belonging to the native States, who had been disbanded and dismissed from service by the conquests and subsidiary alliances of Wellesley. Sindhia and Holkar were well disposed towards them. Every year when the rains were over they roste out on their work of plunder, burning villages and crops.

Hastings pressed the Pindaris till in 1817 they were driven out of Malwa and beyond the Chambal. Ameer Khan was won over by the promise of the district of Tonk. The Rajput chiefs were received under British protection ; and the Pindaris surrounded on all sides by British armies were hunted and killed by thousands.

The Third Maratha War, 1817-1819.—In 1817 the Pindaris had not yet been suppressed. The Maratha chiefs were in sympathy with them ; Holkar and Sindhia particularly had not yet been brought under British control. The Peshwa was eager to escape from the bondage

which he had brought on himself. This was the situation of affairs which led to the final struggle with the Marathas which we have described already.

Results of the War.—With the Pindaris no treaty was made. They were simply broken up. Sindhia was allowed to retain a larger degree of independence than any other prince, nor was he deprived of more territory. Holkar was reduced to the position of a normal subsidiary ally. The Gaikwar was already in the position of a normal subsidiary ally. A new Raja was set up at Nagpur, in a similar subordinate position. The lands of the Peshwa were annexed, excepting a portion reserved for the new Raja of Satara. Protection was afforded to the princes of Rajputana, and to other princes within the area of Maratha supremacy. The work of pacification and orderly government was carried out under the supervision of men like Elphinstone, Munro, Malcolm and Metcalfe.

The Political Situation in India.—The acquisition of new territory by the Governor-General who had come out pledged to a policy of non-intervention displeased the Directors of the Company; and Hastings had to retire in 1823, after a successful administration of ten years. The net result of his administration was to secure for the British districts in India complete freedom from the hostile attacks or plundering inroads to which they had hitherto been repeatedly exposed. But he had not only put down these evils; he had taken steps to prevent their recurrence. Henceforward it became a principle of British policy in India that every native State, outside the Punjab and Sindh, should make over the control of its foreign relations to the British Government, should submit all disputes to British arbitration, and should ask for British advice and follow British guidance even in the management of internal affairs. A British





INDIA IN 1823.



LORD HASTINGS.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.



FORT OF BHARATPUR

Resident was appointed to the court of all the greater States, while British armies maintained at the expense of the States looked after their internal tranquillity and their safety.

Thus the Marquis of Hastings completed the work of consolidation that had been left unfinished by Wellesley. Even the shadow of rivalry from a European power in India had vanished, and British ascendancy over the native States had been finally decided. The right of intervention for the safety and prosperity of the people of India was freely and fully recognised, and had been transformed into a duty. Taking the natural boundary of India to be the ocean and the mountains, the British dominions in India now commanded the whole sea frontier, and it was securely settled upon a base of the Himalayas. Only in two directions the frontier was still unstable and liable to disturbance—on the north-east where the Burmese were advancing into Assam, and on the north-west where the Sikhs beyond the Sutlej were acquiring power under Ranjit Singh.

Internal Administration.—The political changes effected by the Marquis of Hastings, though they constitute the leading feature and the highest merit of his administration, must not make us forget the important internal reforms which he introduced in the various branches of the public service. In the judicial department the accumulation of undecided cases had become a crying evil and amounted to a denial of justice. The causes were obvious. The undue multiplication of forms protracted litigation, while the number of judges was small. Accordingly the number and emoluments of the Indian judges were increased, and their jurisdiction was extended. Moonsifs, hitherto restricted to cases of the value of Rs. 50, were made competent to try cases of Rs. 150. The forms and process were shortened

and simplified wherever possible. Encouragement was also given to *punchayets*, in which the judges acted as arbiters. In criminal justice Hastings abandoned the rule that Cornwallis had laid down that the offices of collector and judge or magistrate were never to be combined. The native rule was the reverse of this, and by returning to it a great number of criminal cases were summarily disposed of by judges in whose impartiality confidence could be placed.

In the revenue department the Marquis of Hastings marked his rule by the passing of regulations for the correction of previous errors. The Permanent Settlement had been adopted in Bengal, but by an oversight the sale of a zamindar was taken to abolish all subtenures, and the purchaser was entitled to oust all occupants. Instead of this tyrannical law it was now enacted that tenants and cultivators having a prescriptive or hereditary right of occupancy could not be dispossessed so long as they paid their customary rents, and that those rents could not be increased except in specified circumstances. In the Madras Presidency the *ryotwari* settlement introduced by Sir Thomas Munro was confirmed.

The Affair of Palmer & Co.—Resignation of the Governor-General.—In 1820 the Governor-General was called upon to deal with an affair that excited great public interest both in England and India. The Nizam had been sinking into debt owing to the heavy expenditure involved in the maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent, and owing to the mismanagement of his minister Chandoo Lal. The firm of Messrs. Palmer & Co., bankers and agents, supplied all his wants, and eagerly offered him loans to any amount. The Nizam, finding this system convenient, drew on these creditors till the sum he owed became hopelessly large. The partners of the house obtained an undue influence at Hyderabad, and when the Resident Mr. Metcalfe applied to the Governor-General to stop

this scandalous state of affairs, Lord Hastings interfered. He forbade Messrs. Palmer & Co. to make more advances and directed that the rents of the Northern Circars should be at once capitalised. The funds thus obtained were directed to the payment of the debt. Messrs. Palmer & Co. soon after failed.

The reputation of the Marquis was unfortunately tarnished by the fact that Messrs. Palmer & Co. had been allowed to negotiate the loans to the Nizam and to his minister by the casting vote of the Governor-General in Council; it was also unfortunate that a leading member of the firm of Palmer & Co. had married a ward of the Governor-General. The instructions from the Directors had also manifested a want of confidence in the Governor-General. Under the circumstances the Marquis tendered his resignation in 1821 and finally quitted India on January 1, 1823.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LORD AMHERST.

1823—1828.

Mr. Adam.—The successor of the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Amherst, did not arrive in India till seven months after the departure of the former ; and during the interval Mr. Adam, the Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General. It seemed as if now the period of Great Wars was over ; but the new Governor-General had scarcely taken office, when the action of the Burmese monarchy forced upon him a not very glorious war.

Burmese Expansion and Relations with the British.—The Moghul rulers of India had never carried their dominion into the mountains on the east of Bengal. Chittagong was included in the Bengal province ; otherwise the Brahmaputra valley was its eastern limit. South of Chittagong were the kingdoms of Arakan and Pegu. These kingdoms, as well as Assam, Tenasserim and the whole basin of the Irrawadi, were, in the course of the eighteenth century, absorbed into the kingdom of Burma with its capital at Ava. During the rule of Sir John Shore fugitives from Arakan had sought an asylum in Chittagong ; the Burmese troops followed them and Shore gave up the fugitives. The Burmese supposed that the British were a feeble folk. Not long after, several thousands of Arakanese took shelter in British territory. Wellesley would not surrender them, though he sent missions to Ava to arrive at a friendly settlement with the Burmese. The king of Ava in 1818 sent to Lord Hastings demanding the restoration

of his territories of Chittagong, Dacca and Murshidabad. When at last in 1823 the Burmese occupied Assam and took possession of Shahpuri, an island in the Bay of Bengal, belonging to the Company, Lord Amherst was obliged to eject the Burmese from the island and to declare war.

The First Burmese War, 1824-1826.—Lord Hastings had left ten crores of rupees in the Treasury ; but the Burmese war was to prove one of the most expensive into which the British were led. The route to Burma lay through unhealthy forests and over difficult and unknown mountains : thus an expedition by land would have proved disastrous from pestilence and want of supplies. So the plan was devised of sending an expedition by sea to Rangoon, and then to advance up the Irrawady. But there were difficulties about this plan also. The necessities of European life were not available at Rangoon ; and during the rains the whole country became a vast sheet of water. In spite of these difficulties, Sir Archibald Campbell sailed from Madras, and took Rangoon and Martaban with ease. Captain Richard occupied Assam. The Burmese general, Maha Bandula, was defeated and killed at the battle of Donabew. Proposals for peace were made about this time, but the rains set in and no treaty was concluded. Two years passed without any sign of the war coming to an end, and during these years heavy sums of money were spent by the British, and a large number of soldiers died of fever and starvation. In the third year of the war a small detachment of the British reached Yandaboo, within forty miles of Ava, where a treaty was concluded. The King of Burma ceded the districts of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim ; and further agreed to pay a war indemnity of one crore of rupees and to receive a British envoy at his Court. The most remarkable result of the war was the amazing development of the resources of the three ceded provinces which had not been supposed to have much value.

Review of the War.—The Burmese war received no cordial support from the home authorities. It was carried on at an enormous expense and the acquisition of territories secured by it, though they have proved far more valuable than was at first supposed, must still be considered a dear purchase. However the propriety of the war cannot be determined merely by counting the cost. The Burmese were certainly bent on war, and every concession made to them would have been followed by some new demand. The feelings by which they were animated before the outbreak of the war have been very well summarised by an American missionary, Judson, who had lived ten years in the island : “The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance to dethrone kings and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames and on courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese. If they once fight with us and we manifest our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations, which are now slaves to the English, and will encourage them to throw off the yoke.” Under these circumstances, a Burmese war was sooner or later inevitable, and the Indian Government which undertook it had a sufficient justification in the fact that they yielded only to a necessity that was laid on them.

Capture of Bharatpur, 1826.—The kingdom of Bharatpur had been founded by the Jats during the decline of the Moghul Empire, and was at this time ruled by one Durjan Sal, who had seized the kingdom from the rightful heir who happened to be a minor. The supporters of the heir appealed to the English for help ; and, as the attitude of Durjan Sal was hostile to the Company, Lord Amherst finally decided to support the claims of the minor.

A British army under Lord Combermere marched against Bharatpur which ever since it had baffled Lake had come to be regarded as impregnable. After a prolonged siege a breach was effected by means of mining ; the place was stormed and fell in January 1826. Durjan was sent to Benares as a British pensioner and the minor installed as Raja under British protection.

Lord Amherst left India in 1828 and was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck.

CHAPTER XLV.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1828—1835.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE, 1835—1836.

Lord William Bentinck.—The new Governor-General had already acted as Governor of Madras, but he had been recalled from his office after the Vellore Mutiny of 1806. A lover of liberty and justice he brought his lofty ideals with him to India, where his term of seven years' office was a period of social and administrative reforms. We shall notice in the first place his policy towards the native States and towards Ranjit Singh.

The Non-intervention Policy.—Its new phase.—Lord William Bentinck was brought face to face with a new problem in Government. The Company was now the paramount power in India. What, then, were to be the relations between the Company and the native States connected with it by the subsidiary alliances? The old doctrine of non-intervention meant that the Company was not to enter into offensive or defensive alliances with the native States, was not to fight the battles of the Indian rulers either against the enemies from without or against the enemies from within. But now all the native rulers of India, except those of Sindh and the Punjab, had been brought within the scope of the subsidiary system, and the Company was pledged to defend these princes against foreign and internal enemies. A new meaning was, therefore, given to the policy of non-intervention by its advocates : they said that the Company's rights of interference were limited to cases of war between



LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India



RANJIT SINGH.

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States under its protection, and that under no circumstances should the Company meddle with matters of internal government. Such a policy, if it had been followed by the British rulers of India, would have led to disastrous results. If the Company was bound to protect a native prince against a revolt of his subjects, and if, on the other hand, it abstained from interfering or protecting the subjects against the oppression of their ruler, it would have directly encouraged misrule, tyranny, and oppression amongst these rulers. This was the problem of Government which Bentinck had to face : the British were required by their treaty obligations to defend the native rulers against risings of their subjects in their states ; should they not also interfere if these subjects were driven to a state of desperation by the wanton misrule of a ruler secure in the sense of the British protection ? We shall now proceed to see how he solved this problem in connection with the States where he was called on to take action.

Jeypore.—In Jeypore the intervention of the British was rendered necessary by the outrages of the Vizier who poisoned the minor Raja and the Ranée his mother, and attempted to seize the government. The Resident interfered, directed the Vizier to retire, and placed on the throne an infant heir assuming charge of the country during his minority.

Coorg.—The ruler of this State, who had succeeded to the throne in 1820, was a violent and cruel man. He had commenced his rule by wholesale slaughter of his own relations. He behaved with insolence towards the representatives of the Company ; and the remonstrances of the British met with open defiance. An army was sent from Madras which took his capital. The Raja surrendered ; he was declared to have forfeited his right to the throne, and the kingdom was annexed to the Madras Presidency (1834).

Mysore.—On the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 Wellesley had placed on the throne of Mysore a minor, the only representative of the ancient Hindu dynasty which had been deposed by Hyder Ali. When the Raja attained his majority in 1811 he dismissed his able minister, Purniah ; and now began an era of misrule. The revenues of the country were wasted on the amusements of the Raja ; heavy debts were incurred, and the subjects were oppressed and rose in rebellion. The British were obliged to interfere ; a clause in the last treaty had given the Company the right of taking over the Government of Mysore. The Raja was now asked to abdicate and a British Commission was appointed to take charge of the administration (1831).

The Punjab and Sindh.—In 1809, it will be remembered, Lord Minto had made a treaty with Ranjit Singh by which the latter had promised to refrain from expanding his influence and power south of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh had faithfully observed his promise, and he had devoted his energies to consolidating his territories and drilling the Sikh armies whom he led successfully to the conquest of Peshawar and Kashmir. In 1831 Lord William Bentinck thought the time opportune for a closer union with the Sikhs, and held a splendid Durbar on the Sutlej, where the warmest promises of mutual friendship were given and received. A little later a commercial treaty was concluded with the Amirs of Sindh, and the Indus rivers were for the first time opened to the British for commerce.

Financial Reforms.—Lord William Bentinck had found, when he landed in India, that the treasury had been emptied by the heavy expenses of the Burmese War. The revenue was more than a crore of rupees short of the expenditure. His first measure of economy was his order on the subject of *batta*. It has been said to

have been not very wisely selected. *Batta* or *bhatta* merely means extra pay or allowance, and consisted of a fixed addition to the pay of military officers when they were in the field. The allowance was doubled when the service was beyond the territories of the Company. It had required all the energy of Clive in 1765 to abolish the *double batta*; but single *batta* still continued to be paid. Strictly this was due when the troops were in the field, but when in 1801 the expense of providing quarters in cantonments was thrown upon the officers, they were allowed full single *batta* at all times, whether in the field or in quarters. Lord William Bentinck, in consonance with instructions from the home authorities, issued in 1828 what was known as the *half-batta order*. This order created great dissatisfaction amongst the officers; the Commander-in-Chief protested and resigned his office; and the Directors impressed by the dissatisfaction they had created limited its application to a few towns in Bengal.

The Governor-General also increased the revenue from land by putting a check on the policy of recognising exemption from government assessment granted by Moghul Emperor to individuals. Further the revenue from opium was largely increased by the adoption of a policy of free cultivation of the poppy, subject to a payment per chest.

Judicial Reforms.—Lord William did away with the old Courts of Circuit, and substituted in their place courts held by the judges of districts for monthly gaol delivery within their respective jurisdiction. He permitted all legal proceedings to be carried on in the vernaculars of the district instead of Persian which had previously been used. He also improved the position of the judges by increasing their salaries, so as to add to their respectability and afford some guarantee for their integrity.

A new Chief Court was established in the North-West Provinces. But above all Bentinck's administration was marked by the throwing open of several posts of honour in the judicial department to natives of India, which not only relieved the judicial department of a load of work which could never be completed, but opened a way to official service to Indians, which has contributed to no inconsiderable extent to the firm establishment of British rule in India.

Abolition of Suttee, 1829.—Even as early as in the days of Akbar laws had been enacted to prevent Suttee, or the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. It had been also disallowed by the French and the Dutch in their Indian territories. The British attempted in the beginning to suppress the practice in the case of unwilling widows who were forced to the funeral pyre by the relatives. But it proved difficult to distinguish between cases of voluntary self-devotion and those of moral compulsion exercised by interested relatives. In 1829 Lord William Bentinck passed a law prohibiting Suttee altogether in British territory. All persons aiding and abetting a ceremony of the kind, whether a widow were a willing party or not, were declared guilty of culpable homicide. Petitions to the Governor-General were presented against the regulation, and when these proved of no avail, the petitioners carried their complaint by appeal before the Privy Council. The appeal was dismissed after a full discussion, and the popular excitement ere long died away.

Suppression of Thuggee.—Of those institutions which demanded suppression, Thuggee was the most barbarous. It was an organised system of murder and robbery, prevailing all over India, known to the people but carefully concealed from the British. The Thugs were a caste, a hereditary association of robbers. They had their goddess, whom they worshipped by means of

proper rites. Their special business was the strangulation of travellers, with a view to robbing them of their possessions. They worked in small gangs. Having decoyed their victims they strangled them by throwing a handkerchief or noose round their necks, and then robbed and hid their bodies in the ground. Even when they were known to their fellow villagers, they were free from harm, because they were supposed to be under protection : and it was thought that if any ventured to oppose or expose them he would come to grief. It was in 1829 that the British Government decided to suppress Thuggee ; and the officer selected for the purpose was Major Sleeman. The process of bringing crimes home to individuals was difficult ; but it became easier with the lapse of time. Captured Thugs turned informers and gave evidence about the whole system. Within a few years their bands were broken up ; several thousands were captured, many hanged, and many more transported.

The Charter of 1833.—In 1833 the Charter of 1813 granted to the Company for twenty years expired ; and long before that date discussions had taken place with regard to the expediency of retaining or removing the Company's monopoly of trade, as well as with regard to the future government of India. The negotiations between the Government and the Company resulted in the fresh Charter of 1833 by which the Company's monopoly of trade with China was abolished, and the Company was deprived of its status as a trading corporation. The Company continued, however, to exercise the privileges of sovereignty, and the Court of Directors now became a purely administrative body subject to the Board of Control. The Governor-General's Council was to consist of four members, one of whom was to be a Law Member, entitled to attend only meetings for making laws. The Governor-General in Council was empowered to make laws for all the British

possessions in India. The public services were thrown open to all natives of India without distinction of caste or creed. A fourth Presidency was established at Agra for the administration of the North-Western Provinces. Finally a commission was appointed to inquire into the practicability of framing a single code of laws for all India.

Education.—The work with which Bentinck's name is most intimately associated is that of education. Upto 1813 nothing had been done by the British rulers in this direction. In that year the Directors instructed their officers in India to set apart a lakh of rupees every year for educational purposes. But education in India had been hitherto understood as instruction in the language and literature of the Hindus and Mohammedans—Sanskrit and Arabic. Oriental learning was thus encouraged ; but an institution, like the Calcutta College, which sought to introduce the natives to western science and English literature, received no government support. Bentinck recognised that neither Sanskrit nor Arabic was the language of India ; that the peoples of India used various vernaculars ; that English had become the proper official language, associated with these vernaculars. Lord Macaulay happened to be in India at this time as Legal Member of the Calcutta Council. He gave his strong support to the idea of encouraging the study of English literature and the Western sciences. In 1835 an order was issued by Government providing for the new teaching instead of the old in all government schools and colleges. The importance of this change may be estimated when we remember that without such education it would not have been possible to enter the public services.

Public Works.—In the matter of public works the British rulers did not emulate the Moghuls in the erection of buildings like the Taj ; but already the idea of creation of canals for the distribution of water for agriculture was seriously taken up. Roads were improved. A grand

trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi, ultimately carried on to Lahore and Peshawar, was built; and the road from Agra to Bombay was commenced.

Steam Communication with India.—Amongst the great events belonging to the period of Bentinck's administration may be mentioned the successful application of steam to the voyage between Europe and India and the subsequent establishment of the regular route by Egypt. The first trial was made by a vessel called the *Enterprise* which endeavoured to combine the advantages of steam and sails, and made the voyage by the Cape of Good Hope. The experiment was not satisfactory, as she sailed from Falmouth on the 16th August 1825, and did not reach Diamond Harbour in the Hughly till the 7th of December, an interval of nearly four months. A route by the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf was then attempted, but it was soon ascertained that the ancient line across the Isthmus of Suez from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea was entitled to preference. The first steam voyage by this route was made by the *Hugh Lindsay* which left Bombay on the 20th March, 1830, and arrived at Suez on the 22nd April, an interval of thirty-two days. In her next voyage she reduced the period to twenty-two days. In 1836 the Government of Bombay congratulated the Court of Directors on the arrival of dispatches from London in sixty-four days.

Review of his Administration.—The administration of Lord William Bentinck had been eminently peaceful. Its merits are founded not on new acquisitions of territory, or brilliant military victories, but on the more solid ground of internal improvement—on reduction of expenditure, the correction of abuses, the extension of the means of education, the more adequate administration of justice by the liberal employment of native agency, and above all by the bold inroad made on superstition by the suppression of one of its most abominable practices.

He had thus proved himself an able, liberal and conscientious ruler. The great defect of his policy was his attempt to carry too far the system of non-interference. But even this had one great advantage, namely, that it threw the native rulers on their own resources, and compelled them to govern with wisdom and moderation, with a view to conciliate the good will of their subjects.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, 1835-36.—After the departure of Lord William Bentinck Sir Charles Metcalfe became Governor-General. His appointment was provisional. At the time of his appointment he was Governor of the North-Western Provinces, which were created into a separate Presidency by the Charter of 1833. The previous career of Sir Charles showed that he possessed all the qualities that make a good ruler, and he had the complete confidence of the Court of Directors who desired to see him confirmed as Governor-General. But the Ministry objected that the highest office of the government in India should be filled only from England. This objection has ever since been generally upheld ; though there can be no doubt that the Directors were but making a reasonable statement of their case when they observed that the “Servants of the company are eminently qualified for the highest public trust, and that the important office of Governor-General has been held by several of them with the utmost advantage to the national interests.” On the other hand it was maintained that a practical acquaintance with European statesmanship was of the greatest consequence to the Governor-General of India, and that those who could not have had an opportunity of acquiring it were not the most eligible candidates for this highest office. The office was offered to Mountstuart Elphinstone ; but he refused it on account of ill health. It was subsequently conferred upon Lord Heytesbury ; but before his lordship started, there was a change in the Ministry and subsequently Lord Auckland was nominated Governor-General.

Liberty of the Press, 1835.—Sir Charles Metcalfe's administration was marked by the passing of an Act by which all the restrictions to which the Indian Press was previously subject were repealed. The Press in India was subject to a censorship, no newspaper being allowed to be printed without being previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person authorised by him. The penalty for offending was 'embarkation for Europe.' Lord Minto had placed religious publications under similar fetters. In 1818 the Marquis of Hastings abolished the censorship, but issued regulations by which the editors of newspapers were prohibited from publishing criticisms on the measures and proceedings of the Court of Directors, on political measures of the local Governments, or offensive remarks on the public conduct of the members of Council, judges of the Supreme Court, or discussions which might tend to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions, etc. All these restrictions were now abolished by Sir Charles Metcalfe. The public regarded this measure with favour, and showed their approbation by the erection of a public building devoted to literary purposes and called the Metcalfe Hall.

Metcalfe's Retirement.—The Court of Directors were indignant at this measure and treated Sir Charles with such coldness that he despatched a letter intimating his determination to retire from the service. He sailed for England in February 1836. The extent of the loss which India sustained by his departure was not fully known till after. As he had been opposed to the policy which led to the disastrous war in Afghanistan it may be presumed that if he had remained his influence might have sufficed to prevent the war.

CHAPTER XLVI.

LORD AUCKLAND.

1836 — 1842.

The Countries beyond the Indus.—The Sikhs.—As with the arrival of Lord Auckland as Governor-General there commences a new era of military development in the countries beyond the Indus, *viz.*, Sindh, the Punjab, Afghanistan and Persia, it is necessary to understand the position of affairs in those countries which led to this phase. The Sikhs, who occupied the Punjab and Sirhind, were not a separate race, but a religious sect which had absorbed a large number of the Hindus in a particular area. Their founder was Nanak, who lived from 1469 to 1539. He taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and gained the esteem both of Mussulmans and Brahmins. His followers took the title of Sikhs (disciples), and formed a band under a succession of *gurus*. They assumed a military character and under the tenth *guru* were formed into the *Khalsa*, 'the army of the free'. In the eighteenth century they were freed from Moghul dominion and the *Khalsa* became an association of Sirdars. Each Sirdar had his own retainers, but all combined for defence of the common interests.

Ranjit Singh.—About the end of the eighteenth century the rulers of Afghanistan exercised sway over Kashmir and controlled both Sindh and the Punjab; and the Sikh or Rajput Rajas of the Punjab held their titles by the Afghan ruler's permission. In 1808 Shah Shuja was the

Amir of Afghanistan. Ranjit Singh had become the leader of the Sikhs. The fear of French and Russian intrigues with Persia made Lord Minto send embassies both to Afghanistan and to the Punjab. The embassy to Ranjit ended in a treaty of friendship with the British which gave Ranjit a free hand in the Punjab. For some thirty years he continued to extend his dominions. Jammu, Kashmir, Multan, Peshawar—all were absorbed, and the *Khalsa* became a mighty fighting force. The Sikh chieftain achieved his position by a combination of military skill, daring and courage as well as shrewdness. He organised his army with the assistance of Europeans. When in 1810, owing to family feuds, Shah Shuja was driven from Kabul, he fled to Kashmir. This gave Ranjit Singh an opportunity to attack Kashmir; but he was foiled. Later he acquired Multan. Taking advantage of complications in Afghanistan he now secured Kashmir. In 1826 Dost Mohammed became the Governor of Kabul and the first man in Afghanistan. The capture of Peshawar by Ranjit led to war between Dost Mohammed and the Sikhs which was, however, averted by intrigues. When Ranjit died in 1839 he left behind him a well rounded territory and a formidable power in the Punjab.

Russia and Persia.—Russian progress in Central Asia excited Persia into a war with her in 1825. The result was unfavourable to Persia who now suddenly became friends with Russia. English statesmen in India feared a combined Russo-Persian attack with a call to arms of the Mussulmans in India. In 1834 the Shah of Persia called upon Kamran, the Afghan ruler of Herat, to submit to his authority and on his refusal marched on Herat in 1837. Russia was encouraging Persia in this aggressive attitude. It was feared that the attack on Herat was

only a step towards the conquest of Afghanistan, and that Russia might take advantage of her friendly relations with Persia to advance her own schemes of aggrandizement.

Lord Auckland's Policy.—In 1837 Lord Auckland arrived in India as Governor-General, with the most peaceful intentions. Dost Mohammed, the Amir of Afghanistan, greeted him by a letter of welcome and asked for his good offices against the Sikhs. On meeting with a refusal, he opened negotiations with Russia, not because he wanted a Russian alliance, but in order that he may induce the British to seek his friendship. He was anxious for the British alliance, but Lord Auckland looked upon him with mistrust and regarded him as an usurper. He determined to restore Shah Shuja to the throne of Afghanistan with the help of Ranjit Singh and his Sikhs. To the latter Auckland promised to guarantee the possession of Peshawar and the neighbouring districts which Ranjit had seized.

The First Afghan War.—British Occupation of Afghanistan.—A British army escorted Shah Shuja, accompanied by Sir William MacNaghten as envoy and adviser. It marched by way of Sindh into Afghanistan in 1838. While on its way the news arrived that the Shah of Persia had given up the siege of Herat, and there was an end to the fear of a Persian conquest of Afghanistan and Russian intrigues. But the British force was not recalled. In 1839 Shah Shuja with the British reached Kandahar and was proclaimed the ruler of Afghanistan. At Kandahar the news arrived that Ranjit Singh was dead. The British now advanced to Ghazni which was stormed and taken. Dost Mohammed fled to the Hindu Kush and Kabul was occupied by the British troops. It was thought at first that Shah Shuja would be welcomed by the people, but it was soon found that he owed his restoration to British arms. A British force was, therefore, left to defend

him; and Sir William MacNaghten remained with it as British Resident, and also Sir Alexander Burnes. The subjugation of the whole country was then slowly effected, apparently ending with the defeat and surrender of Dost Mohammed who had reappeared in Afghanistan.

Murder of Burnes and MacNaghten. The retreat.—But the end had not come. The Afghans were in such a sullen mood that it was necessary to maintain a British force. Suddenly the storm burst in 1841. Sir Alexander Burnes, the Political Agent, was murdered in Kabul, with his suite. The rebel Afghans found a leader in Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mohammed. Sir William MacNaghten was induced by the pretended friendliness of Akbar Khan to meet him at a conference. During the interview he was assassinated with the officers who had accompanied him. The English were not in a position to punish the offenders. General Nott was unable to move from Kandahar. Sir Robert Sale was shut up in the fort of Jalalabad. Major Pottinger at Kabul, after the assassination of MacNaghten, agreed to evacuate the capital on the promise of a safe passage to India. They went out through storm and snow, 15000 men, *women and children, without means of defence, obliged to give up their officers, even their ladies and children as hostages. The Afghans disregarded their promises and fired on the fugitives; and out of their entire numbers a single survivor reached Jalalabad to tell the awful story. All the rest perished in the snow or by the hands of the Afghans. By this time Lord Auckland was recalled and replaced by Lord Ellenborough.

CHAPTER XLVII.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

1842—1844.

Second Advance on Kabul.—When Lord Ellenborough arrived in India he found that Ghazni had surrendered to the Afghans, but General Nott was making a gallant defence at Khandahar and Sir Robert Sale at Jalalabad. General Pollock was now appointed to command the army of relief which forced the Khaibar Pass and joined hands with Sale at Jalalabad. Nott who had raised the siege of Kandahar united his army to Pollock's. The combined forces marched on Kabul which was again occupied (1842). The British prisoners were released, the Great Bazaar (Bala Hissar) at Kabul was blown up, the fort of Ghazni was destroyed and the British forces triumphantly marched back to India. Dost Mohammed was allowed to return to Afghanistan and to be Amir again.

Conquest of Sindh, 1843.—The Amirs of Sindh had shown themselves hostile to the British during the Afghan War. They were Baluchi chiefs whose ancestors had invaded and annexed the districts along the lower reaches of the Indus. In 1832 they were induced to sign a treaty by which they opened up the Indus to commerce, but refused to allow the passage of troops through their territories. In 1839 British troops marched through Sindh and the Amirs were compelled to sign a new treaty which imposed on them a subsidy and a military contingent. When the Afghan War was over charges were brought against them of having obstructed the movements of the British troops. Sir Charles Napier was

appointed to make inquiries. He found the Amirs guilty of corresponding with the enemies of the British. The Amirs were goaded into war and their power was broken in the two battles of Miani and Hyderabad in 1843. Sindh was annexed to the British Empire.

Gwalior Affairs.—Daulat Rao Sindhia died in 1827, and his adopted son, Jankaji, in 1843. Jankaji left a youthful widow, Tarabai, without issue and without having adopted a successor. Tarabai adopted a boy, eight years old with the consent of the Governor-General. A regent had now to be appointed and the Rani selected Dada Khasji, a favourite. Ellenborough however appointed Jankaji's uncle, Mama Saheb. The Rani and Dada Khasji began to intrigue; Mama Saheb was driven from the court and his life was threatened. The British Government thereupon called on the Rani to surrender Dada Khasji into their hands. Dada Khasji commanded the Gwalior army, one of the two great native armies still existing in India, and showed no signs of submission. War was declared against Gwalior and the Governor-General himself marched from Agra. The Rani sought his protection, but she was prevented from proceeding to the British camp. In 1843 the Gwalior army was on the same day (December, 29) defeated at Maharajpur and also at Punniar. Sindhia's kingdom was deprived of independence. The army was reduced to one-third of its former strength. The Government was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency until the young Raja came of age. The British undertook the protection of the State during the minority of the Raja.

Recall of Lord Ellenborough.—Soon after this Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the Court of Directors. They urged that his lordship had never allowed the Company a moment's peace since he landed at Calcutta.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE.

1844—1848.

The Punjab after Ranjit Singh.—Sir Henry Hardinge was sent out to supersede Lord Ellenborough. On his arrival his attention was given to the growth of troubles in the Punjab. On the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, the imbecile Kharak Singh, his son, succeeded him ; but the government fell into the hands of two brothers Dhean Singh and Gulab Singh, able Rajputs who had won the favour of Ranjit, and who had been made by him jointly Rajas of Jammu. Kharak died and Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit, was made Maharaja, with Dhean Singh, as Vizier. In 1843 the latter assassinated Sher Singh and was himself assassinated in turn. Dhean Singh's son, Hira Singh, made himself Vizier and established Dhulip Singh, a possible son of Ranjit's on the throne. Ranjit had organised a powerful army on European models, with 250 guns, which was controlled by elective committees of five, known as *Punchayets*. The Rani, Dhulip Singh's mother, and her followers intrigued against Hira Singh, and both parties sought to win over the Khalsa, or central council of the Sikh army. The Rani won in the game and Hira Singh was killed. The Khalsa became masters of the situation. The Rani and her favourite Lal Singh, with a view to be rid of the army, encouraged it to make a bid for the empire of Hindustan.

The First Sikh War, 1845-46.—In December 1845 the Sikh army poured across the Sutlej into territories of the Company. It was the most formidable enemy the

British had ever met with in India. It was well-equipped and well disciplined ; it was fired with religious zeal ; it consisted of men born and bred in warlike habits. The Sikhs advanced against the British camp at Firozpur. The English commander was not in a position to dispute the passage of the river ; but Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, who was at Umballa, at once set out for Firozpur with all his troops. He defeated the Sikh cavalry under Lal Singh at Mudki, capturing seventeen guns. The main army of the Sikhs was stationed at Firozshah. Sir Hugh Gough attacked this position with a large British army, and it was with difficulty that he was able to snatch a victory by a final effort on the morning after a night of horrors. The Sikh army now became disorderly and plundered the camp of Lal Singh. The British were unable to follow up their victory. A month later when they were sufficiently reinforced they attacked the Sikhs at Aliwal under Sir Harry Smith and completely routed them (Jan. 1846). Large numbers fled beyond the Sutlej. For some weeks they were busy strengthening their position at Sobraon, where they had thrown a fortified bridge of boats across the Sutlej. The British defeated them in this position (Feb 1846). Their camp was destroyed and they fled to the bridge where they perished in large numbers under the fire of the British guns. The British now crossed the Sutlej and pitched their camp at Mian Mir, near Lahore.

The Treaty of Mian Mir (Lahore), 1846.—A treaty was made with the Sikhs by which it was agreed that they should pay to the British a crore and a half of rupees. As the Sikhs were not in a position to pay the whole amount in cash, Kashmir was given to Golab Singh, in return for his guaranteeing to pay a crore of rupees. The British boundaries were advanced to the Bias. The Sikhs gave up their artillery ; their army was reduced to 20,000

men ; a Council of regency was appointed ; and by desire of the Sikh chiefs the British troops were to remain at Lahore till the end of the year, the chiefs declaring that without such help they might not be able to maintain order. Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident. After a year the Sikh Sirdars requested the British to leave an army at Lahore with the Resident, agreeing to pay twenty-two lakhs of rupees a year for its maintenance.

Retirement of Hardinge.—The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were raised to the peerage for their services. Lord Hardinge spent the remainder of his time in carrying out improvements in the administration. The first great irrigation project of the British Government, the Ganges canal, was launched, and encouragement was given to railway enterprise. He also issued a recommendation that posts in the public service should be given, by preference, to those who had received an English education.

Sir Henry Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie, who was only thirty-five years of age when he took over charge in 1848.

CHAPTER XLIX.

LORD DALHOUSIE.

1848—1856.

Condition of the Punjab.—The causes of the Second Sikh War.—In the Punjab there was a want of harmony and good will between the Sikh nobles who composed the Regency and the British Resident. The defeated Sikhs were longing for revenge. Mulraj, the Governor of Multan, delayed paying to the Lahore Durbar a sum of money which was due from him, and when the British demanded the money Mulraj resigned. The resident appointed another in his place, and two European officers, Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, were sent to escort the new Governor. When they arrived at Multan, Mulraj was engaged in planning a revolt. His soldiers killed the two officers, and Mulraj raised the standard of revolt. Lieutenant Edwards, a young but brave officer, collected a small force, defeated Mulraj in two battles and drove him into Multan (1846). But he was not strong enough to reduce the fortress. After about five months reinforcements arrived to help the siege operations, along with 5000 Sikhs supplied by the Lahore Regency. But these Sikhs suddenly went over to the enemy, obliging the British to raise the siege.

The Second Sikh War, 1848-49.—The Sikhs were now everywhere in arms; and Dalhousie decided on war. He had not desired war, he said in a speech at Calcutta, but since the Sikhs would have it so war they should have

and 'war with a vengeance.' The Afghans, smarting under their late humiliation, joined the Sikhs. Lord Gough took the field with a force of 20,000 men. An indecisive battle was fought at Ramnagar. This was followed by the capture of Multan (1849). The Sikh chieftain, Sher Singh, had taken up his position behind a belt of forest near Chillianwala. In the battle that ensued the British suffered heavily ; some of their guns were captured, and the result was for a long time doubtful. Sher Singh retreated to Gujarat, where Gough followed him and decisively routed the Sikh army. The victory was followed up by the Governor-General who sent cavalry and horse artillery in pursuit of the enemy. Some days later the Sikh army surrendered unconditionally.

The Settlement of the Punjab.—Lord Hardinge's policy of governing the country in the name of the ruler, with the presence of a British Resident to advise and control, had proved a failure. Lord Dalhousie now decided that the only course open was to dethrone the Maharaja and annex the country. In March 1849 the Punjab was formally annexed to the British territories. The boy Maharaja Dhulip Singh was granted a pension. The Government of the Punjab was entrusted to a Board of three members at the head of which was Sir Henry Lawrence. The other two members of the Board were John Lawrence, Henry's brother, and Mr. Mansel. The Khalsa was disbanded and many of its members were enrolled in British regiments. Others joined the irregular Punjab frontier force. The country settled down into one of the most prosperous and orderly provinces in the Empire. The people felt happy under the mild and just Government of the British. Oppressive taxes were abolished, and the land revenue was considerably reduced. Roads were made, schools were established and agriculture encouraged. In a short time the wild and warlike followers of Ranjit Singh

had become peaceable and contented villagers. In 1852 the Board of Control at Lahore was dissolved and John Lawrence was made Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. When the Mutiny broke out the Sikhs remained staunchly loyal to the British.

The Second Burmese War, 1852.—The King of Burma continued to behave towards the British Government in the most haughty manner. He ill-treated British subjects at Rangoon; and when he was called upon to redress the wrongs done to English merchants he took no notice of the demand. Friendly negotiations proved a failure, and in 1852 war was declared upon him. An attack was made upon the province of Pegu both by land and sea. Its principal cities were captured, including Rangoon, Martaban, Prome and Pegu. At this stage Lord Dalhousie stopped the war, being of opinion that the Burmese king (the King of Ava) had been punished sufficiently. The whole of Lower Burma now became British territory, and like the Punjab became a thriving and prosperous country. Upper Burma was still left untouched in the hands of the Burmese king.

Dalhousie's Views with regard to Native States.—The Governor-General was of opinion that if any lawful opportunity offered for bringing a dependent native State under the formal rule of the Company, it would be wrong to let such opportunity pass. The reason for holding this view was that the character of any native government depended upon the person of the ruler for the time, and that every family of rulers in the long run showed signs of weakness and degeneration. Usurpation by an adventurer of ability was out of question under the British system of protection. Therefore good government in the native States was only possible if they were absorbed into the British dominions. Those who were opposed to Lord Dalhousie's view thought that with the

peaceful conditions brought about by the British rule in India it was possible to maintain the native States in a condition of efficiency ; and that, therefore, it was not advisable to annex except when palpable irremediable misgovernment was proved.

In the days of Wellesley and Hastings British territories had been extended by the cession of lands belonging to the native rulers ; but such cession was treated as a matter of necessity. In the case of Mysore Wellesley had gone out of his way to put a native dynasty on the throne. Both Wellesley and Hastings had believed that the native states should be left free to look after domestic affairs, and that it was better to maintain a native State than to put an end to its existence. In short, annexation on sufficient grounds of misgovernment had been recognised, but opportunities had not been sought, and where they had occurred they had been declined more often than accepted. But Dalhousie acted on the principle of annexing if he could do so lawfully, and took advantage of every opportunity that offered itself of annexation. During his time a large number of such opportunities did occur. Such opportunities fall into two classes : (i) those of lapse or escheat and (ii) those of misgovernment.

The Doctrine of Lapse.—According to Hindu religious beliefs the welfare of the soul in the next life partly depended on the proper performance of certain religious ceremonies by the offspring of the deceased. If a man died without children these ceremonies could not be performed. Hence the necessity of adoption. In matters of private property the adopted child became the heir of his adopted father ; but in political functions, though Hindu custom recognised the adoption, the Mohammedan ruler frequently declared that the sanction of the paramount power was necessary to render an adoption valid. In taking the place of that paramount power, the British, it was argued, were

entitled to refuse their sanction to an adoption ; and this refusal would render it invalid for political, though not for private, purposes.

Annexations by Lapse.—The State of Satara had been created by Lord Hastings out of the Peshwa's dominions. In 1839 the Raja had been deposed for misgovernment and replaced by his brother. The brother had no children, and he repeatedly asked the British for permission to adopt a son. This was refused. Nevertheless on his death-bed he adopted a son (1848). The question now arose : should the British recognise the adoption, although it had not been sanctioned, or should it claim that Satara had lapsed to the Sovereign Power since there was no other heir ? Dalhousie decided for annexation.

The second case was that of Jhansi, a district in Bundelkhand, ceded to the British in 1817. On the Raja's death in 1835, a son adopted without sanction had been set aside, and a kinsman had been permitted to rule. On his death a successor was again selected by the British. He died in 1853 leaving an heir whose adoption had not been sanctioned. Misrule of the first two Rajas made it expedient to annex the district, which was accordingly done.

The Raja of Nagpur died in 1853. He had refused to adopt an heir, and there was no legitimate successor. It had been one of the great States of the Maratha confederacy, more an ally than a dependent State. Dalhousie, however, decided for annexation.

The case of Kerauli, a small Rajput State beyond the Chambal, was referred for decision to the Court of Directors who decided in favour of the adopted heir on the ground that Kerauli was not a 'dependent principality' but a 'protected ally.'

Annexation of Oudh.—The annexation of Oudh did not turn on the doctrine of lapse. After the battle of Baxar, in 1764, Oudh was forfeited to the British, but Clive restored it to the Nawab-Vizier. Forty years later the constant

misrule of the Nawab had led Wellesley to the verge of annexation ; but the dynasty had been allowed to go on. The misgovernment increased ; the army of the Nawab grew more dangerous and uncontrolled. In 1854 the Resident, Colonel Outram, reported that the condition of the province could hardly be worse. The Members of the Council, however, were divided in opinion ; and Dalhousie referred the question to the Directors who decided in favour of annexation.

Education.—In 1854 a famous despatch was framed by Sir Charles Wood and issued by the Directors, which might be called the first great educational charter of India. A complete system of regularly graded schools was proposed, from the local native schools upto Universities, under State control. Dalhousie lost no time in giving the fullest possible effect to the instructions sent from England, which were in accordance with his own views on the subject.

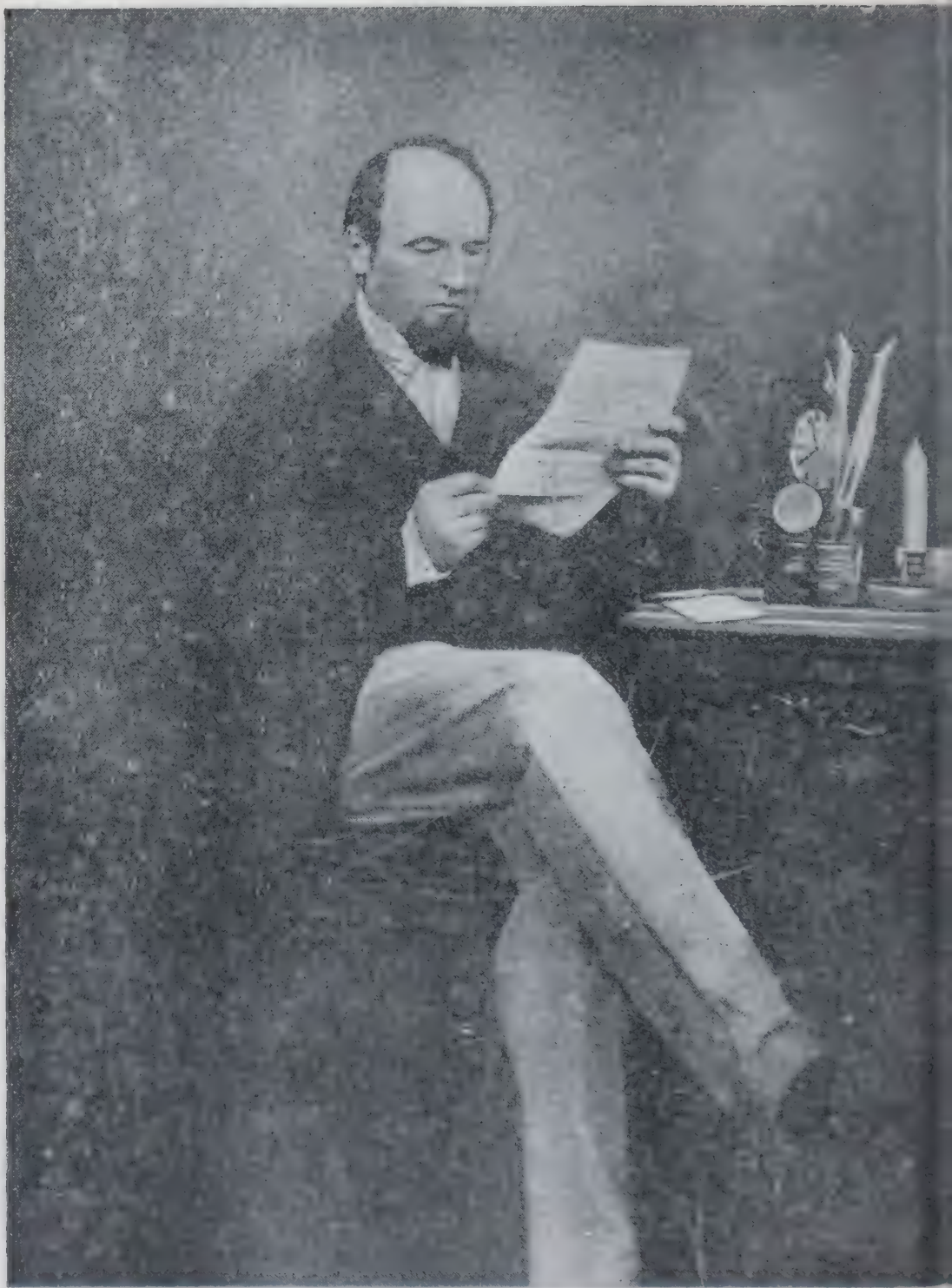
Railways.—Railway enterprise had received no encouragement till the days of Lord Dalhousie. The risk was too great for private capital, and Government did not think of undertaking the building of railways. In 1852 Dalhousie urged upon the Directors a change of policy. English capitalists were willing to embark on the work under government guarantee. The Charter of the Company was to be renewed in 1853. The Directors, therefore, resolved to take up the work of constructing railways. The works were commenced, and considerable progress was made within the next ten years.

The Public Works Department.—Dalhousie also founded a new Department of Public Works, with an engineer at its head in each Presidency. This department took the place of the old and unworkable military Board. Roads were built, large areas of land were brought under irrigation, and steamships were multiplied on the Hughli, the Indus, and the Irrawady.



LORD DALHOUSIE.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.



LORD CANNING.

Photo Bourne and Shepherd. India

Postal and Telegraphic Departments.—It was in Lord Dalhousie's time that the half-anna post for the whole of India was established, in place of the former system of paying heavy charges according to the distance letters were carried.

Telegraphic communication was also established between the different parts of India for the first time in Dalhousie's reign ; and thus the steam engine and the electric wire completed the work of consolidating the different parts of the Indian Empire which had been begun by the system of subsidiary alliances.

CHAPTER L.

LORD CANNING.

1856—1862.

Lord Canning.—The successor of Lord Dalhousie was the son of the distinguished British statesman, George Canning. Before he started from England to take charge of his office he seems to have had some mysterious warning of the coming storm. At a farewell banquet given by the Court of Directors, he said : “ We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man’s hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin.”

The War with Persia, 1856.—On his arrival Canning found he had to face a war with Persia. The Shah of Persia had invaded Afghanistan and taken Herat. Canning found it necessary to declare war to compel the Shah to retire. Sir James Outram led an expedition to the Persian Gulf, captured Bushire and defeated the Persian army. A treaty was made with Persia, by which the Shah renounced all claims on Herat, agreed to withdraw his troops from Afghanistan, and to protect British trade.

The Mutiny: its Causes.—But Canning had soon to face a trouble of a more serious character. (a) Vague suspicions were current amongst the people, both Hindus and Mohammedans, that the British Government was aiming at subverting the religions of the country and destroying their old and venerable customs and modes of life. The building of railways and telegraphs, the labours of Christian missionaries, the spread of education, the attitude of



INDIA IN 1856.

Government towards institutions like Suttee and widow-remarriage, were all taken to be sinister signs of the coming event. The social and religious unrest was further inflamed by the prophecy current at the time that the hundredth year after the battle of Plassey would see the end of the British rule in India. (*b*) The growth of the British power had reduced to impotence some of the Indian rulers, and the application of the doctrine of lapse and the policy of annexation had created alarm and fear amongst the rest. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II, was thinking of revenge at Bithur. The Rani of Jhansi was aggrieved that her adopted son had not been recognised. Thus there were influential persons full of grievances ready to take advantage of an opportunity to stir up revolt. (*c*) But the immediate impulse to revolt came from the Indian soldiers. The sepoys had grievances of their own. They were dissatisfied with their pay. They also grumbled because they were asked to serve beyond the seas—crossing the sea being supposed to be forbidden by the Hindu religion. Many regiments were composed of men who came from the same district and were related to one another, and could thus easily combine for any purpose. They saw the European troops in a minority of one to five. The story was now current amongst them that the cartridges of the new Enfield rifles, supplied to the sepoys, were greased with the fat of pigs and cows. Superstitious and ignorant, they devoured these stories, and the British dreams of security were rudely brought to an end one evening (May 10) by the sepoys of Meerut who shot their officers, killed every European man, woman and child they met, and spent the night in plundering the city.

Spread of the Mutiny.—Delhi and Cawnpore.—

From Meerut the mutineers marched to Delhi. Many of the English officers and soldiers were killed; others escaped. A few bravely defended the arsenal and blew it up

in the end. Bahadur Shah was proclaimed Emperor of India. After this the revolt spread far and wide. In most of the military stations of Northern India the sepoy slew the European residents, plundered and joined the rebels at Delhi. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, was living at Bithur, near Cawnpore. When the sepoy at Cawnpore mutinied Nana Sahib placed himself at their head and laid siege to the British position garrisoned by a few Europeans under General Wheeler. The garrison held out for some twenty days; but want of provisions compelled them to accept Nana Sahib's offer of safe conduct as far as Allahabad, on condition of laying down their arms. They embarked in boats on the Ganges; but as the boats sailed down the river, a murderous fire was opened upon them from both the sides, and out of four hundred and fifty persons only four escaped, the rest being massacred. The women and children were placed in confinement. Nana Sahib was proclaimed Peshwa at Bithur (July 1). Meanwhile General Havelock and Colonel Neill came up by forced marches, defeated Nana's army on July 16th, and pressed on into the city, only to find that the women and children had been murdered by Nana's orders, and their mangled remains thrown into a well.

Lucknow.—At Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence was Resident. When the sepoy mutinied, he brought all the Europeans within the walls of the Residency, which was strongly fortified. A store of grain was also collected. Lawrence was killed by the bursting of a shell, a few days after the siege commenced. But the small garrison bravely held out till it was relieved in September by General Havelock and Outram. But the mutineers were strong in number and held the town, and the British had to remain on the defensive. Final relief did not come till two months later when the new Commander-in-chief, Sir Collin Campbell, after driving away Tantia Topi, the principal general of

Nana Sahib, and clearing the country between Lucknow and Cawnpore, returned and captured Lucknow in spite of a desperate resistance. The joy of the deliverance of the Lucknow garrison was chastened by the death of Havelock, who sank under disease and exhaustion.

Pacification of Oudh and Central India.—The mutineers rallied at Bareilly, but were driven out. They were then pursued from place to place and defeated in every engagement, till the province was cleared by 1858. A force from Bombay under Sir Hugh Rose operated in Central India, and captured Kalpi, the arsenal of the rebels; and this was followed by the siege and capture of Jhansi. The Rani of Jhansi, however, made her escape. Tantia Topi also managed to elude his pursuers. He succeeded in defeating the loyal Maharaja of Gwalior, and occupying the fort with the treasury and the armaments of the chief. Tantia now proclaimed the Nana Peshwa, although the latter was at the time a fugitive. He went out to meet Sir Hugh Rose who was advancing on Gwalior. He was beaten in battle at Morar, and Sir Hugh Rose followed up his victory by the siege of Gwalior. It was captured after a brief resistance. The Rani of Jhansi died fighting at the head of her troops, but Tantia escaped. It was not till a year later that he was betrayed into the hands of the British, condemned and hanged.

The Siege of Delhi.—At Delhi the thirty thousand rebel sepoys who were in possession of the city were besieged by 7,000 British troops under General Nicholson. The Sikhs and Pathans, whose loyalty to the British was firmly retained by the good government of John Lawrence, rallied to the cause and joined in the siege. In September 1857, the walls were breached and the assault was delivered. John Nicholson was mortally wounded, and after six days' desperate fighting Delhi was once again

in the hands of the British. The old king of Delhi was arrested with his two sons and grandson. The sons and grandson were shot just as an attempt was made to rescue them ; but Bahadur Shah was reserved for trial, and later on found guilty and transported to Rangoon.

Canning's Policy.—With the capture and execution of Tantia Topi in 1859 the Mutiny came to an end. Canning had displayed remarkable calmness during the period of the Mutiny. When it was over he showed equally remarkable firmness and clemency. He marked out those who had merely taken part in the rising from those who had been involved in the murder and massacre of Europeans. For the former he proclaimed a general amnesty and pardon if they threw themselves on British mercy ; the latter were dealt with more severely : while those who had helped the British were rewarded with grants of lands, titles and pensions. The clemency of Canning at a time of general excitement and desire for revenge did much to pacify the country and make it the loyal India of to-day.

End of the East India Company.—In 1858 an Act was passed by Parliament, abolishing the East India Company and the Board of Control, and transferring the Government of India to the British Crown in the person of Queen Victoria. The Governor-General received the title of Viceroy, and was made responsible to the Secretary of State for India. The powers of the Board of Control were vested in the Secretary of State and a Council of fifteen members, eight of whom must have previously served in India. This council was called the India Council. The Secretary of State was made responsible to Parliament by being given a seat in the Cabinet.

CHAPTER LI.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN.

THE FIRST FIVE VICEROYS.

The Queen's Proclamation.—The Proclamation of November 1st, 1858, in which Queen Victoria announced the new constitution of India to the princes and people of the country has been called the Great Charter of Indian liberties. Equal justice and religious toleration were declared to be the guiding principles of the Queen's rule. A general amnesty was announced, and all existing rights, privileges and treaties were confirmed. "We hold ourselves," so the words run, "bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. . . . And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

Lord Canning in 1859 went on a tour through Northern India. At a great Durbar at Agra he received the loyal native princes and rewarded them with titles and decorations. He announced to them that the right of adoption would henceforth be conceded to them. He thus removed their apprehensions about the continuance of the annexation policy. It was now recognised that when reforms

came in a native state at the hands of a native ruler they were more acceptable than when they were thrust upon the people by a British administrator ; and that it was better to train an Indian prince to govern well than to set him aside.

New Measures.—In 1860 the Indian Penal Code which had been drawn up by Lord Macaulay, passed into law ; and in 1861 the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were brought into operation. These measures swept away a mass of inconsistent provincial regulations, and gave to India a simple, comprehensive, and humane system of criminal law. The Supreme Court as well as the Sudder Adalut were abolished, and a High Court established in each Presidency. The founding of the three Universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta was also the work of Canning. When he retired in 1862, his country recognised his services by creating him an earl. He died three months afterwards, when a monument was erected to him in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Elgin, 1862-1863.—Lord Elgin, who succeeded Canning, died after he had been about a year in office. During his short rule he had to put down a rising of the Wahabis, a fanatical sect of Mussulmans. The war was still going on when Lord Elgin was taken ill and died. He was buried at Dharamsala in the Himalayas.

Lord Lawrence, 1864-1869.—**The War with Bhutan, 1864-1865.**—The Governor of Madras came to Calcutta to officiate for the late Viceroy. The Bhutanese had raided Duars, the tract of British territory lying at the foot of the Himalayas, along the border of Bhutan. An embassy was sent to remonstrate, but it was insulted. In England it was thought that a crisis was at hand, and Sir John Lawrence, a simple, strong, upright man, who had already so ably ruled in the Punjab, was sent out as Governor-General. Lawrence immediately despatched an

expedition into Bhutan which made its way with difficulty into the wilds and mountains and captured two of the principal forts. But the season was unhealthy and the country unfavourable for operations. Peace was soon made ; Bhutan ceded the districts known as the Duars in return for an annual subsidy of £5,000.

The Orissa Famine.—In 1866 a terrible famine in Orissa destroyed two millions of people. There was as yet no railway communication with the province ; and during the monsoon grain could not be landed in large quantities upon the coast. The miseries of the people were increased by floods in the rivers. The nature of the calamity made it necessary for the Government of India to make some regular provision for such emergencies. Lawrence was the first to lay upon Government officers the duty of protecting the people from starvation. It was felt to be a duty of Government to undertake systematic measures of relief. Later Viceroy's have devised scientific methods of relief, including a system of protective railways, irrigation works and the Famine Insurance Fund.

Lord Mayo, 1869-1872.—Lord Lawrence was succeeded by Lord Mayo, a man of great ability and energy. One of his first duties was to try to come to a better understanding with Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan. On the death of Dost Mohammed in 1863 a war between his sons arose which ultimately ended in the confirmation of Sher Ali on the throne. When a little earlier Sher Ali had appealed for help to the British, Lawrence had declined to interfere, with the result that Sher Ali was alienated from the British. Mayo invited Sher Ali to an interview at Umballa, where he was treated with special honour ; but the Afghan ruler wished the Government of India to enter into a treaty with him to support him against all rivals. This was more

than Lord Mayo was prepared to grant ; and the Amir returned to Afghanistan without coming to an understanding with the British.

Financial Reforms.—Mayo now devoted himself to the work of internal improvement. The finances of India were in a serious condition. There were annual deficits, and the normal expenditure was larger than the income. Fresh loans were raised every year, and the liabilities of the Government were increasing. Lord Mayo cut down the expenditure on the army and the public works, and increased the income-tax and the salt-tax. But the most beneficial of his reforms was the introduction of the Provincial Contract System. The local Governments had hitherto made no attempts to save expenditure that could easily be avoided. They had been accustomed to ask for more than they wanted, and they did not care to economise, as whatever they saved lapsed to the Supreme Government. To remedy this Mayo devised what is known as the Provincial Contract System, according to which certain shares in the land revenue and other sources of income were to be made over for a term of five years to local Governments to meet their expenditure ; and if any savings were effected during the period by the local Government they were to be used for the benefit of the province concerned. Thus the local Governments were given an inducement to economise.

Other Measures.—Mayo also remodelled the Supreme Council. He divided the affairs of the Government into seven departments—foreign ; public works ; home ; revenue, agriculture and commerce ; financial ; military ; and legislative. The head of each department was given a seat on the Supreme Council, of which the Viceroy himself was President. There was during Mayo's term of office a great extension of railways, roads and canals. To

afford education to the masses was one of his great ideals, and he studded Bengal with a large number of primary schools. Knowing the affection of Indians towards the persons of the ruling dynasty, he arranged for a visit to India of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria. Mayo was popular with all classes of the community. He was a man who wanted to see things for himself. Early in 1872 he started on a tour to Burma, the Andaman Islands and Orissa. But while on the Andaman Islands he was stabbed in the back by a convict, probably when he was returning to his ship in the dusk of the evening, thinking of some plans for the improvement of the islands.

Lord Northbrook, 1872-1876.—The rapid growth of the Russian Empire in Central Asia and the reports of Russian intrigues at Kabul had created anxiety in England and in India. It was thought once again that Russia had designs on India itself; and there were many who severely criticised the 'masterly inactivity' so strongly advocated by Lord Lawrence. Lord Northbrook did not share in the general alarm, but he recognised the necessity of coming to some understanding with Russia; and a friendly arrangement was come to by the two Governments, by virtue of which each pledged itself to respect the other's sphere of influence. The actual boundaries of the spheres of influence were not then settled; but a step was taken towards a complete understanding in the future. In Lord Northbrook's time Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.), toured the country and was received with loyal rejoicings everywhere.

Deposition of the Gaikwar.—Mulhar Rao Gaikwar was tried on the charge of attempting to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre. There was some doubt as to the guilt

of the prince, but the Commissioners who presided over the trial were convinced that he had shown himself unfit to rule. He was therefore deposed, and a young relative was made Gaikwar in his place (1875).

CHAPTER LII.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN.

FROM LORD LYTTON TO LORD CURZON.

Lord Lytton, 1876-1880.—When Lord Northbrook resigned, on account of ill health, in 1876, Lord Lytton took his place. It was in January 1877, in Lord Lytton's times, that her Majesty Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in a Durbar held at Delhi. The proclamation was also read on the same day in every district in India, and was received with strong manifestations of loyalty by the people. Southern India was visited by a famine in the same year; and though Government spent more than a crore of rupees, there was a terrible loss of life through starvation and disease.

The Afghan Wars, 1878-1880.—Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, was already dissatisfied with the British attitude of neutrality. When the British occupied Quetta for military purposes he was greatly annoyed. On the outbreak of war in Europe between Russia and Turkey, the Russians sent a mission to Kabul, which was received with honour (1878). The British Cabinet in London, thereupon, insisted on the Amir's receiving an English envoy. But when the British envoy attempted to cross the frontier he was refused admission. War was now declared. An English army marched into Afghanistan, captured Jalalabad and Kandahar, and Sher Ali was obliged to fly. He soon after died, and his son Yakub Khan made peace (May, 1879). He was recognised as Amir and he agreed to receive a British Resident in Kabul.

Sir Louis Cavagnari was sent as Resident, but his presence was disliked by the Afghans. The soldiers of the Amir rose in mutiny and massacred him and his followers. The Amir shut himself up in his palace. This led to a fresh outbreak of war. General Roberts advanced to Kabul, occupied the city, and hanged many of the mutineers. Yakub Khan was brought to Calcutta as a prisoner. At the same time Sir Donald Steward won a decisive battle at Ahmad Khel and joined Roberts at Kabul. But the whole of the country was now in rebellion and the position of the British in Kabul was becoming critical, when General Roberts repelled an attack and dispersed the rebels. At this juncture Lord Lytton resigned, as the Conservative party of which he was a member had been overthrown in England by a Parliamentary election.

Lord Ripon, 1880-1884.—Lord Ripon, who succeeded, withdrew the British army from Afghanistan and recognised as Amir, Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali. Lord Ripon now entered upon a series of internal reforms which have made his name dear to the people of India. He repealed the Vernacular Press Act passed by Lord Lytton's Government, which had subjected the native papers of India to special restrictions. He passed the Local Self-Government Act which gave the people of towns a greater share in the management of civic affairs. He also increased largely the powers of rural boards. He hoped to make the local boards and municipalities the means of giving the people a political education which would fit them for the proper performance of political duties in a larger sphere. Amongst the measures which made Lord Ripon popular was the bill known as the Ilbert Bill, introduced by Mr. Ilbert, the Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council. The object was to confer upon Indian judges and magistrates in the

districts such jurisdiction over European offenders as they had already exercised in the Presidency towns. But the bill was fiercely opposed by Europeans, and a compromise was made by which European offenders were given the privilege of trial before a jury half composed of Europeans. An extremely popular act of Lord Ripon's Government was the so-called Rendition of Mysore; by which in 1881 the adopted son of the Maharaja deposed in 1831 was formerly installed as Prince. Lord Ripon retired in 1884, after having repeatedly shown himself in complete sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of Indians.

Lord Dufferin, 1884-1888.—Lord Dufferin, who succeeded, was first occupied with Afghan affairs. He entertained the Amir at a great Durbar at Rawalpindi. A commission was appointed at this time for the purpose of fixing the boundary between Russia and Afghanistan. A collision took place in the Panjdeh district between Russian and Afghan troops. It almost led to a war between England and Russia, but the Amir consented to waive his claim to the territory and peace was preserved. The native princes of India showed their loyalty by placing the resources of their kingdoms at the disposal of the Government, to be used in case of a war with Russia.

The Third Burmese War, 1885.—Annexation of Upper Burma.—The last large addition to the Indian Empire was made under Lord Dufferin. The King of Burma was unable to maintain order in his own country. The Burma Trading Company suffered heavy losses through dacoity, and to these and to other British subjects the king refused redress. The king moreover was intriguing with the French and the Italians. Thereupon war was declared; a few British steamers ascended the Irrawady, captured Mandalay, and having deposed the king brought him to India. Upper Burma was annexed by proclamation on the 1st January, 1886.

In 1886 the fort of Gwalior was handed over to the Maharaja Sindhia. It had been held by the British ever since 1858. It was now restored as a mark of confidence which the Indian Government reposed in the native rulers.

Lord Dufferin's rule was also marked by the appointment of a Public Service Commission, to inquire into the question of appointing qualified Indians to the higher offices in the State.

Lord Lansdowne, 1888-1894.—One of the principal events of Lansdowne's Government was the Manipur War. A rising in the small State of Manipur resulted in the murder of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and four British officials (1891). A British force was sent from Calcutta to suppress the rising. The Raja was deposed, and those who had taken a part in the murder of the officials were hanged. A boy belonging to the royal family was raised to the throne, and a British Commissioner was appointed to rule over the country during his minority.

An Act was passed for the election of Members to the Legislative Councils, Supreme, and Provincial, by public bodies with a view to enable the people to lay their views before Government on matters of public importance.

Lord Elgin, 1894-1899.—Lord Elgin was the son of the Lord Elgin who had died at Dharamsala in 1863. Soon after he arrived, a costly expedition was sent to Chitral beyond the North-West Frontier to suppress a rising which threatened to disturb the peace of Northern India. The district was occupied by the British. It was during Lord Elgin's Government that plague broke out in Bombay and ultimately spread throughout India. A widespread famine also visited Northern India in 1897, and a terrible shock of earthquake did much damage in the Himalayan regions. Finally a fresh expedition was sent to the North-West Frontier, known as the Tirah expedition, against the tribesmen who frequently raided British territory (1897).

Lord Curzon, 1899-1905.—Lord Curzon entered on his office in 1899. One of his earliest measures was the formation of the North-West Frontier Province, with Peshawar for its capital, with a Chief Commissioner to control more effectively the warlike tribes of the frontiers. By adding parts of the Bengal Presidency to Assam, he formed a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, a step which was called the Partition of Bengal. The Berars, which had till then been governed by the Resident of Hyderabad, were added to the Central Provinces. Educational affairs also engaged the attention of Lord Curzon. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 revised the constitution of the Indian Universities, and met with considerable opposition amongst educated Indians, but it gave an impetus to higher education. Lord Curzon also encouraged agricultural and technical education, and remodelled Primary and Secondary education. He established a Department of Commercial Intelligence; passed an Act for the preservation and protection of ancient monuments; and improved the prospects of the Police Service.

Lord Curzon's term of office was extended in 1904: but he was not to remain long in India. Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief, proposed that the post of Military Member of the Viceregal Council should be abolished, and that the Commander-in-Chief should be the only adviser of the Viceroy in all military matters. Lord Curzon did not approve of this proposal. Accordingly when Kitchener's views, with some modifications, were adopted by the Secretary of State, and the post of Military Member of the Viceregal Council was converted into that of a Member for Military Supply, Lord Curzon resigned.

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